



Daily Report

East Europe

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GDR, FRG Foreign Ministers Meet at Potsdam
AU1606091788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 13 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—GDR and FRG Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer and Hans-Dietrich Genscher met for a talk in Potsdam on Saturday [11 June]. The exchange of experiences focused on issues that were intensively discussed at the meeting of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, and on questions concerning the work of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

Oskar Fischer and Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that they were encouraged by the increasing number of positive international tendencies, such as the entering into force of the INF Treaty and the other results of the Moscow summit. They emphasized the interest of their states in not permitting a pause in the efforts aimed at disarmament, and spoke in favor of the early conclusion of an agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

Oskar Fischer pointed out the GDR's efforts to promote confidence, detente, and disarmament, and stressed its interest in proceeding from zero option to zero option concerning nuclear weapons.

Both ministers reaffirmed the interest of their states in a speedy and productive conclusion of the Vienna meeting. They concurred in assessing the proposal for a final document that was submitted by the Warsaw Pact states as a basis that can be negotiated.

At the end of their talk, Oskar Fischer and Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed the possibility of conducting exchanges of experiences on a regular basis in order to reach better mutual understanding concerning their states' international positions. They agreed to continue this dialogue.

Orzechowski Submits PPR Statement to CSCE
LD1506184188 Warsaw PAP in English
1630 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—As reported by the government spokesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski handed a statement by the Government of the Polish People's Republic on the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe to the representatives of the CSCE states.

Excerpts of the statement:

The Government of the Polish People's Republic has, with due attention, taken note of and carefully studied the views, presented in the rejoinders of governments and the pronouncements of their representatives as well as during bilateral working contacts, concerning the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe as contained in the memorandum of July 17 1987.

The Polish Government notes with satisfaction the emergence of a climate propitious for new undertakings in disarmament and confidence building in Europe. This climate is particularly linked to the conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic reiterates the validity of its proposals presented in the memorandum and covering the territories of the Kingdom of Belgium, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Kingdom of Denmark, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Polish People's Republic, together with their territorial waters and airspace.

The Polish Government confirms its interest in the withdrawal and/or reduction, in the aforementioned zone, of mutually agreed types and quantities of nuclear weapons.

All types of nuclear weapons would be the subject to the agreed measures, [word indistinct] they are not the subject to [as received] other agreements. More specifically, these measures could cover, for example, missiles of up to 500 kilometers range, nuclear-capable aircraft, nuclear artillery and any type of nuclear charges.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic is in favour of initiating separate negotiations on reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-capable means of delivery, and subsequently on eliminating such weapons.

Moreover, it believes it would be expedient, until concrete disarmament measures are implemented, for the interested states to undertake an obligation not to increase the present level of nuclear armaments in central Europe, not to compensate the weapons subject to reductions and not to introduce new types of such weapons.

Poland's proposal gradually to withdraw and/or reduce specific, mutually agreed types and quantities of conventional weapons is founded on the belief that the implementation of the agreed measures should be based on the principle of reciprocity and should lead to the removal of disproportions and asymmetries in given types of weapons, that is, to the attainment of such potentials which would ensure, in the opinion of the parties concerned, mutually acceptable military stability on a proportionally lower level.

An elimination of the possibility of undertaking offensive operations, including first and foremost the possibility of surprise attack by any party, would (?be an) important element of such stability. These could be reached by substantially reducing offensive components of military potentials, while maintaining forces adequate for effective defence.

The government of the Polish People's Republic envisages transformation of military potentials into those of a strictly defensive nature as a set of measures having a political, doctrinal, and technical character.

In this context the possibility of (?removing) asymmetries (?disproportions should) be considered, for example by means of equivalent (?solutions) under which the parties concerned would simultaneously decrease the quantities of various, [words indistinct] types of (?weaponry).

Of particular importance in removing the sources of instability and in mutual recognition of the strictly defensive nature of military potential would [words indistinct] the quantities of weapons mutually recognized as offensive, in the first place those which could be used for surprise attack. In particular this concerns missiles, tactical strike aircraft, tanks and other armoured combat vehicles, armed helicopters, long-range artillery, including rocket artillery.

The withdrawal and/or reduction of weapons could lead to the establishment of a zone of dispersed armaments, in which mutually agreed number of units of equivalent combat force, roughly comparable quantities of weapons and state of readiness would be deployed at an appropriate distance from the line of contact.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic, while confirming the importance of reaching agreement of effective confidence- and security-building measures and the mechanisms for the strict verification of compliance

with the undertaken commitments, feels that these could play a meaningful part in eliminating threats, preventing the possibility of a surprise attack and dissipating mutual distrust.

The composition of confidence-building measures could also comprise exchanges of military information. This purpose would also be served by establishing a system of "hot lines" between the highest state authorities and military high commands and also through the extension of contacts among representatives of armed forces.

On its part the Polish Government reiterates its readiness to accept, on a reciprocal basis, far reaching methods of control indispensable to verify the full implementation of the endeavours envisaged by the plan.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic in its memorandum which referred first of all to central Europe, envisaged the possibility of parallel and staged negotiations of disarmament and stabilizing measures in the whole of Europe. The plan proposed here is a solution corresponding to the security requirements of central Europe but remaining in a strict relationship with the situation, security requirements and solutions on an all-European scale.

While presenting this statement, the government of the Polish People's Republic yet again stresses its readiness to cooperate in the further development of the proposals contained in the plan with all those interested governments who are guided by a desire to strengthen security and peace in Europe.

Rehabilitation of Kamenev, Zinoviev Noted

AU1506124488 Tirana ATA in English
0930 GMT 15 Jun 88

["From the Press Review"]

[Text] In the news item entitled "The Kremlin Rehabilitates Zinoviev and Kamenev," ZERI I POPULLIT informs that the Soviet High Court abolished all the punitive measures and rehabilitated these leaders of the counterrevolutionary Trotskiyite group of the "new opposition," which was formed in the 30's against the policy of the Bolshevik Party for the socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of the country. Further on ZERI I POPULLIT stresses that the observers link the rehabilitation of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's group with the extraordinary party conference which will be held on June 28, this year, and will mark a new stage for the perestroyka undertaken by Gorbachev. The rehabilitations of the representatives of various hostile groups towards the Bolshevik Party and socialism are linked with the fact that their ideas and theories are to be found in the program of perestroyka.

Alia Attends Closing Session of Women's Congress

AU0906121788 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Tirana, June 9 (ATA)—The ninth sitting of the 10th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania opened on June 8 before noon.

The delegates and the guests welcomed with applause and enthusiastic cheers the coming into the hall of Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other party and state leaders, Comrades Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali. [passage omitted]

Amidst the applause of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other party and state leaders handed over the red banners. The president of the General Council of the Women's Union, Lumturi Rexha, held the closing speech of the congress. [passage omitted]

At this moment, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

"Let us cheer once more together: for the women of heroic Albania. For our glorious women. For the unbreakable force of socialism in Albania. Long live our heroic women."

Rexha Addresses Congress

AU0606133388 Tirana ATA in English
0930 GMT 6 Jun 88

["Socialism Is the Life of the Albanian Woman—From the Report Submitted by Comrade Lumturi Rexha to the 10th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 6 (ATA)—Joyful and enthusiastic, proud of the attained victories, optimistic for the happy days we are living and for the still more brilliant future lying in store for us, we have gathered today at the 10th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania to draw the balance sheet of our work and struggle and to undertake fresh tasks, Comrade Lumturi Rexha stressed among the other things. We come to this assembly of the Albanian woman with our boundless love for the glorious Party of Labour, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, and with the solemn pledge to march always resolutely on the road of socialism as standard bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and fighters of implementing the decisions of the 9th congress of the party.

Socialism is the life of the Albanian woman. Over the decades of the work and struggle for its construction, the party brought woman out of the world of oppression and exploitation, freed her from the enslaving laws of canon and religion, further enhanced her role and personality, gave her the honoured place she deserves in the society. Our revolution realized all the democratic rights and freedoms, guaranteed to her freedom, job and education, free medical service, enriched her life with new moral values, made her a great and irreplaceable force.

With boundless gratitude we dedicate all these achievements to the party and our beloved and unforgettable leader, the architect of the new Albania, the teacher and inspirer of woman's emancipation, of this outstanding deed of the socialist civilization, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose 80th anniversary of the birth we are going to commemorate magnificently this year.

The 9th congress of the party, the speaker said further on, provided the people with a magnificent program on the socialist socioeconomic development, it opened broad horizons of work and creativeness, affirmed once again woman's role at the present and perspective development and set fresh tasks for her further emancipation.

The Albanian woman, in all the history of our country, has claimed distinction for her freedom loving spirit, her patriotic sentiments, her courage and bravery, her close connection with the homeland. These features, enriched them with a new content in the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and manifests them in every walk of life. [sentence as received] The women live up to the political situation, unreservedly back up the line of the party and work with might and main to translate into life its program. Realizing the democratic rights and

freedoms they enjoy, their word is heard of and respected for the fundamental problems of the policy of the party and state in running the country, in drafting plans, in making laws, etc. Women are a great force in the fold of the party, where they make up 33 per cent of its effective, over 40 per cent of the elected to the people's councils, a whole army of social activists, cadres, and specialists in all the fields.

Appointing women to posts of responsibility has been one of the main directions of the policy of our party and state and is extensively applied under the people's power. This is a demand of the country's development, it shows of the scale of the general emancipation of the society and of woman herself. Comrade Ramiz Alia's consideration on the role, political, professional, and moral capabilities of woman at the speech he made in the plenum of Vlore District Party Committee fill us with joy.

The magnificent targets set by the 8th Five-Year-Plan, the speaker said further on, have inspired the women, have enhanced their confidence in the party's line, have further strengthened the confidence in the future and courage to undertake still greater tasks. Woman's organization has made a fruitful work to acquaint women with these targets and to mobilize them for their realization, making them conscious that in this way it is strengthened socialism, which is being built on our toil and sweat. Through their work and example, women are responding to the growing demands of production and are engaged with might and main to fulfill the tasks of 1988, decisive year for the realization of the whole five-year-plan.

Women's potential in the economy is great. We must take into consideration, organize, and use it with the highest possible effectivity. Women make up 47 percent of the country's working people, in some branches of economy they carry the main weight, as in agriculture, light and foodstuff industry, health service, trade, education, etc.

Further on, Comrade Lumturi Rexha pointed out that today our society needs more than ever skillful men, with scientific knowledge, who know the objective laws of the development of economy, technique, and contemporary technology and work to put them in service of the people. These demands lie also in store for women who are interested in such great problems as increase of social labour productivity, the vigorous development of productive forces, the strengthening of the economic effectiveness, etc. We rejoice over the fact that a large number of women are members of technical and technological bureaus, they take part in the innovators' movement, in the research and scientific activities. We also rejoice over the fact that as against five years ago, the number of women with scientific titles and degrees, etc., has doubled.

An emancipated woman with all-sided personality, she stressed, is an important factor to strengthen family and for the harmonization of family relations. The great socioeconomic transformations have brought about qualitative transformations in our family, have strengthened it from the economic, political, and ideological point of view, have made it an important hearth of revolutionary education of its members, a strong backing of the society to solve the great problems of socialism. Freed from many concepts of the old world outlook, our family lives up to the demands of the time and affirms new norms with every passing day. The democracy that prevails in our society reflects one of the best achievements of socialist democracy, just as equality of woman with man constitutes one of the greatest social equalities of socialism.

The demographic policy of our party and state and our socialist legislation protect the health of mother and child. In our country efforts are made that every born child be reared healthy. Due to this, population has grown at high rates. Among the European countries, Albania has the highest natality rates and the lowest mortality rates per one thousand inhabitants, it has a population of young age, with an average age of 26 years old, and the life span has almost doubled as compared with the preliberation period.

The development of ideological revolution, the growth of production, the elevation of the material level of the masses, the extension of the network of social-cultural institutions, the new constructions that keep growing from year to year, the narrowing of differences between the city and countryside, have powerfully influenced in the uninterrupted improvement of the mode of living. The party and state, the whole society are interested in it.

In the struggle for the country's socialist construction and the all-round emancipation of society, she pointed out, the organization of the Women's Union of Albania has been consolidated from every point of view, it has enhanced its authority and has become a powerful aide of the party. The Women's Union of Albania has 700,000 comrades in its fold, a whole army of determined fighters for socialism. In the period between the two congresses, the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania and the women's councils in the districts have made an all-round political and educative work in order to place the physical and intellectual potential of the comrades totally in service of solving the great problems of the time.

In continuation, Comrade Lumturi Rexha underlined that organization of the Women's Union of Albania powerfully supports the principled foreign policy of our party and state, sees in this policy a guarantee for the defence of the lofty interests of the homeland. They take legitimate pride in that authority and prestige Albania enjoys among the peoples, progressive and freedom-loving forces, as a country which is prospering on the sweat and knowledge of her own people and incessantly

strengthens freedom, independence, and sovereignty. The women rejoice when they see that their country is taken as an example everywhere in the world as a genuine socialist state, which fights vehemently against the expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet-social imperialism, and is for peace and security of the peoples, for relations of good neighbourliness with all states, resolutely rejects every form of violence, dictate, and plunder, any form of exploitation of man by man, discrimination due to race, nation, or sex.

We do not consider the struggle for the further emancipation of the society separate from the events and struggles that are taking place in the world today. We feel a special joy when we see that woman, everywhere in the world, is launching more and more on the same barricade with the proletariat, the progressive, freedom-loving, revolutionary forces fighting against capitalist oppression and exploitation, savage discrimination, the aggressive policy of the two superpowers, their military blocs, and other imperialist and reactionary forces.

The great problems the women and the working masses in the world are faced with today, the speaker pointed

out, cannot be solved either by demagogic slogans fabricated by the bourgeoisie or the Gorbachevian reforms, like those implemented in the Soviet Union through "perestroyka" and "glasnost." The road of freedom, equality, and social rights of woman is the road of the revolution. The Albanian women, who have won their rights through the struggle for the country's liberation and building of socialism, support and will always support the women and mothers who aspire and fight for genuine freedom, democracy, peace, and security throughout the world.

In conclusion Comrade Lumturi Rexha said:

We shall define in this congress new tasks to march forward determinedly and triumphantly on the road of uninterrupted emancipation. Closely linked with the party, nothing will halt us on our road, the road of revolution and socialism, which is the road of honour, of the happy life and brilliant future we are building. Let us always strengthen more and more the role of the militant organisation of the Women's Union of Albania and raise higher the glorious banner of our heroic party.

Joint CEMA-EEC Declaration Examined

Professor Welcomes Agreement

AU1406141188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 June 88 p 6

[Statement by Prof Marin Petrov: "Important Step Toward Normalizing Mutual Relations"—date and place not given]

[Text] "The declaration first and foremost provides evidence of the prevailing goodwill and the desire displayed by the two sides to seek and find constructive, mutually acceptable solutions to the issues that are hindering the development of links and cooperation between CEMA and EEC member states," stated Prof. Marin Petrov to RABOTNICHESKO DELO Moscow correspondent Atanas Atanasov.

What are the fundamental elements contained in the declaration? The recently initialed document provides an opportunity to establish parallel relations between CEMA and the EEC, and between the individual member countries of CEMA and the Common Market. Each of our countries has the right to conclude economic, trading, and other agreements with the EEC.

The spirit and content of the declaration conform both to the constituent documents of CEMA and the EEC, and to the Helsinki Final Act. Cooperation is agreed in fields that are of mutual interest within the framework of the continent, according to forms and methods agreed and defined by the representatives of the two organizations. The initialing and subsequent signing of the declaration open a new stage in cooperation between CEMA and the EEC—a stage of trading, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation over the long term. This opens up the opportunity to eliminate an anachronism in the relations between the two largest economic groupings on earth.

The declaration became possible in the conditions of a favorable political climate and of increasing trust, understanding, and interest in equally based, mutually beneficial cooperation. It is well-known that the possibilities in this respect are truly immense. It is sufficient to remind ourselves that 13 percent of the total exports of the CEMA member countries go to the EEC member countries, and 12 percent of CEMA's total imports come from them. At the same time, the EEC states send barely 2.4 percent of their exports to the CEMA countries and receive 3 percent of their imports from them. It is significant that EEC member countries are important trading partners of the socialist community. About 55 percent of the overall foreign trade turnover of the CEMA member countries with Western countries is with the EEC.

When people talk about normalizing relations between two economic organizations, stress is always laid on the favorable opportunities for cooperation in the realization of large joint projects. It is worth mentioning, for example, the promising all-European projects in the fields of transportation, energy, environmental protection, and scientific and technical cooperation. In Western Europe the promising "Eureka" program is being carried out in this area, while CEMA is implementing the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000. Even the most superficial comparisons demonstrate that both the priority directions and the approaches to the specific problems are largely one and the same.

Radical changes have recently begun to be made in the foreign trade activity of our countries. Enterprises and organizations have been granted extensive rights to establish production-sharing links and set up joint companies and trusts with Western partners. Experience shows that this form of cooperation enables the optimum use to be made of resources and scientific, technical, and industrial potential.

Successful Talks 'Essential'

AU1506125988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 14 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Prof Dr Tsvetan Iliev, deputy director of the Institute on International Relations and Socialist Integration: "Mutually Advantageous Partnership and Cooperation"]

[Text] The fact that representatives of CEMA and the EEC initialed the joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between the two integration communities marked an important success in the long-standing efforts to build up multilateral cooperation in Europe on a solid basis and under mutually acceptable conditions.

The successful conclusion of the negotiations is of essential economic and political importance. It is in accordance with the necessity of jointly resolving a number of all-European problems that affect to the same extent the interests of all countries and peoples living in our continent. The declaration is a new confirmation of the initiating of positive changes in Europe. The active, innovative foreign policy efforts of the CEMA member countries are already producing results. The outdated cliches are gradually being demolished.

The concept of the CEMA member countries on development of cooperation in Europe is based on several fundamental principles that serve as our points of departure and can be described as follows: the historical and geographical affinity of the European countries, the traditional business relations, the mutually complementing economic systems of the European countries, which

require an intensification of the division of labor on an all-European level, as well as our common, parallel, or similar interests, connected with the solution of vitally important tasks.

To put it briefly, all European peoples are facing the following dilemma today: either to perish together in a thermonuclear military conflict, or to share the use of European production, scientific-technical, cultural, and other potentials for the comprehensive progress of all peoples. The idea of Europe as our common home, which must be protected and enriched by the labor efforts and values of all nations, finds its own practical embodiment in the declaration on the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC. Actually, the objective realities that made the new political thinking necessary confirm that the old cliches of confrontation have no future.

The aforementioned declaration opens new opportunities for cooperation between the two communities as well as for bilateral cooperation between the individual countries that are part of these two communities.

Throughout the postwar period, the Western states erected artificial barriers to normal cooperation with the socialist countries in the economic and other sectors. Through a system of discriminatory measures, through so-called "sanctions," and by other means they tried to isolate the socialist countries from worldwide economic exchange and to deprive them of certain technological achievements. This is one of the reasons for the low percentage of the socialist countries' share in exports and imports within the EEC and for the existing lack of balance in trade. As a result of this policy, the socialist countries started to mainly export raw materials and to import technical equipment.

The programs on accelerated socioeconomic development adopted in the socialist countries are the chief prerequisite for a radical change in this unfavorable state of affairs. The joint CEMA-EEC declaration creates a favorable beginning for cooperation—both regarding joint interaction between the two communities, as well as cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis.

The forthcoming steps will by no means be easy. Preparation and coordination of agreements for the specification of the ideas contained in the declaration and their practical implementation are expected in the future. The most important thing, however, is that a beginning has been made.

Deputy Foreign Ministers Meeting Previewed

AU1506141288 Sofia BTA in English
1346 GMT 15 Jun 88

["Balkans: Possibilities for Multilateral Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—The revealing of new possibilities for multilateral cooperation and for deepening the all-Balkan processes will be in the center of the discussions of the forthcoming meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Sofia.

Only four months after the historic meeting of the chief diplomats of the countries of the region in Belgrade, the Sofia forum will make it possible to study and systematize the entire complex of proposals and to coordinate future work in the different spheres of interaction. The important initiatives put forward at the Belgrade meeting are now to be specified. This refers to a series of initiatives in the field of ecology, transport, economy and the planned setting up of an institute for Balkan economic cooperation.

In their political discussions the deputy foreign ministers will doubtlessly give prominence to the ideas and initiatives for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Good preconditions have been created for the successful work of the forum because at present the Balkan barometer is showing a constant tendency toward an improvement of the political climate. This has been confirmed by the recently held bilateral meetings at different levels and by the heightened diplomatic activity. Bulgaria's stand on the forthcoming meeting is that it should be subordinated to the idea of good-neighborly cooperation and all-Balkan understanding in the interest of the well being of all peoples of the region.

GDR Electronics Minister Pays Official Visit

Received by Atanasov

AU1506183488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] On 15 June Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics. They discussed issues related to further expanding Bulgarian-GDR relations in the area of electronics. The meeting was attended by Ivan Tenev, chairman of the "Electronics" Association, and Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Signs Cooperation Protocol

AU1606065888 Sofia BTA in English
1937 GMT 15 Jun 88

["Cooperation in Electronics"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—This evening Mr Ivan Tenev, chairman of the Bulgarian "Electronics" Association, and Mr Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics of the GDR, signed a protocol on promoting cooperation in the field of electronics. The protocol provides for broadening specialization in the production of electronic constituent parts and of materials specific for electronics and computing machinery. It reveals possibilities for the joint development and for the exchange of technological equipment. The protocol creates conditions for activating cooperation in the field of household electronics and in the development and introduction of automated systems for technological processes control and of information systems in different branches of the national economy.

During his two-day visit to Bulgaria Mr Felix Meier was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations. They discussed concrete trends in the development of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the GDR in electronics, automation, micro-electronics and computing equipment. The guest was acquainted with the work of a number of large enterprises of the Bulgarian electronics industry.

BCP CC Telegram to Turkey's Kutlu, Sargin
AU1006143688 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
9 Jun 88 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to Haydar Kutlu, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, and Nihat Sargin, chief secretary of the Workers Party of Turkey:

Dear Comrades Kutlu and Sargin, the Bulgarian Communists and the whole of our public condemn the trial that has framed you.

You are being tried solely for your communist ideas, political convictions, and your desire to promote the democratization of social life in Turkey. This is a real anachronism and a gross violation of the Helsinki Final Act and the International Convention on Human Rights, to which Turkey is a party.

We proclaim our complete solidarity with the international campaign in your support and insist on the immediate halting of the trial and your release.

Chemical Chief Signs Deal With Turkish Firm
AU0906170088 Sofia BTA in English
1601 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 9 (BTA)—Today Mr Petko Danchev, president of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, and Mr Faruk Erkoc, president of the major Turkish exporting company Penta Dis Ticaret Ltd, signed an agreement on long-term cooperation. The document envisages joint work in marketing policy, in trade infrastructure, in the renovation of the biotechnological and chemical industry, in the construction of new projects and in the application of highly efficient technologies.

A common understanding was reached on an accelerated working out of projects for the joint construction of chemicals and fertilizers production facilities and warehouses, as well as for the sale of products in Bulgaria, Turkey and third countries. The parties will channel their efforts into an increase of their commercial exchanges through the use of qualitatively new forms of trade cooperation.

After the signing, the Turkish company president said: "My visit to Bulgaria was very fruitful. This is the first time I have had such to-the-point talks. I am pleased

with the opportunity I had to establish cooperation in a number of areas. I hope that other Turkish companies, too, will follow our example."

Leader in Electric Power, With USSR, Romania
AU1606100688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 15 Jun 88 p 2

[Veselka Marinova report: "The Seventh Country in the World"]

[Text] A large new installation of our electric power industry—the 750 kilovolt USSR-SR of Romania-People's Republic of Bulgaria joint complex—(consisting of an electric power lead and a sub-station) is about to be commissioned on 16 June 1988.

A little less than 5 years have elapsed since the first digging of this project which not only involved the active efforts of designers, builders, and assembly workers, but also the considerable fact that since 4 May 1988 the major part of the equipment has already been in operation and functioning normally. This makes Bulgaria the seventh country in the world which uses 750 kilovolt equipment in its own power supply system. In certain aspects, however, this electric power transmission is unique—because it is the first in the world to link together the electric power systems of three different countries at such a high voltage.

As for our country, this system increases the reliability of our power supply system and guarantees opportunities for assistance in case of accident, if the 1,000-megaton nuclear power station equipment should fail, as well as for the additional import of electric power from the Soviet Union.

The basic projects for the complex were prepared by the Moscow Energoproekt Institute, while the Sofia Energoproekt is responsible for the equipment installed on Bulgarian territory, with the assistance of Soviet specialists. The Varna Elektroizgrazhdane enterprise is in charge of the basic assembling operations, while the auxiliary work was done by the Main Administration of Construction Troops.

During the construction period numerous records were scored, new technical solutions, and new industrial construction methods were applied.

Commissioned on schedule and with excellent quality standards, the complex raises the level of exploitation of our power supply system to a qualitatively new level. This represents a new step forward toward the expansion of cooperation in the field of electric power between Bulgaria, the USSR, and the SR of Romania, which will make an essential contribution to the further development of socialist economic integration among CEMA member countries.

Defense Support Chief Discusses Restructuring
AU1506123688 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 15 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Trifon Balkanski, chairman of the Central Council of the Defense Support Organization, by Tsvyatko Belenski: "Field for Giving Meaning to Multifaceted Interests"—date and place not given]

[Text] In May this year the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee approved the "Basic Premises of the Concept for Restructuring the Defense Support Organization." This document was discussed on 10 June at a national conference of the organization's aktiv and was the reason for our interview with Lieutenant General Trifon Balkanski, chairman of the Central Council of the Defense Support Organization [DSO].

"First of all," said Comrade Trifon Balkanski, "I would like to stress that over the organization's almost 41 years of history, whatever the changes that it has undergone, it has always been a field for fulfilling the multifaceted interests of the population—especially of the younger generation, a school for patriotism, and a fighting reserve for the Bulgarian People's Army.

"The chief aim of restructuring is to bring the organization into line with the changes in the development of our society."

[Belenski] Under the new conditions, will any changes be made in the nature and activity of the DSO, and what place will it occupy in the self-management system?

[Balkanski] Our organization will continue as before to function under the leadership and with the assistance of the Council of Ministers and the local organs of people's authority. While preserving its state-social character, in the future the organization will develop its work predominantly following the social principle, and thus will become part of the self-managing municipalities. Commissions will be set up in the Central Council and the larger municipal councils of the DSO for the main directions of the organization's work. Delegative and elective principles are being introduced in building up the leading organs. In these bodies a creative atmosphere will be created for work, dialogue, and glasnost, and for stimulating criticism and self-criticism.

The most important point on restructuring the DSO is that the center of the military and patriotic educative work and the development on a mass scale of military-technical training and sporting and technical activities with a military orientation is being transferred to the municipalities, to the self-managing collectives themselves.

[Belenski] What is the new structure of the DSO?

[Balkanski] The structure is being set up in conformity with the July Concept of the BCP Central Committee and the country's new territorial-administrative organization. It is being arranged on territorial-production principles and includes defense support commissions in enterprises, educational establishments, institutions, townships, and municipal districts. In the larger enterprises, higher education establishments, and institutions DSO councils may be set up by decision of the Central Council, while in the oblasts we will only have an authorized DSO representative.

[Belenski] What are the new features in the interrelations between the DSO and the other organs, self-managing communities, and public organizations?

[Balkanski] The restructuring of the DSO is inseparably linked with a radical improvement of the work of the organization with the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Science, Culture, and Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Fatherland Front, Bulgarian trade unions, Dimitrov Komsomol, Civil Defense, the Bulgarian Union for Physical Education and Sport, Bulgarian Motorists Union, and so on. It is particularly important to expand the content and forms of the organization's joint work with the organizations and committees of the Fatherland Front and Dimitrov Komsomol in order to develop and make more effective the military-patriotic upbringing and military-technical training of the youth.

[Belenski] During your meetings with journalists in May and during the demonstration of the rich material-educational, maintenance, and production base the matter was raised of the variations in the development of this base and its incomplete use. Are any changes planned in this respect, and will there be any opportunity for developing economic activity in certain directions?

[Balkanski] In the future we will continue to provide only the most essential material-technical facilities at enterprises and in the municipalities, and these will be provided in relation to the requirements of the particular municipality or enterprise and to the people's interests there. Integrated centers will be set up for achieving high sporting standards. The issue of making better use of the available facilities is related to the periods when our clubs, test grounds, shooting ranges, swimming pools, playing fields, and so on operate. This is a matter to be settled after further discussion.

As far as economic activity is concerned, it will develop in two directions—the training of specialists for the national economy and for production work connected solely with the tasks that the organization is resolving. Certain free production bases may possibly be provided that may also be used for services for the population, but these will be allowed only under specific conditions, connected with the supply of materials and provision of the necessary spares. However, in the main the educational-material, maintenance, and production facilities

will continue to be used in the interest of the highly patriotic and responsible work of training the population and the youth in supporting the defense of the country.

Control-Auditing Commission Views Petitions
AU1506122888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 15 Jun 88 p 2

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO report: "Thorough Investigation, Objective Evaluation"]

[Text] The Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission discussed petitions and objections submitted by sanctioned party members. The sanction "expulsion from the BCP" applied to Dimitur Petrov Peturchev was cancelled as unjustified. The same sanction on Lyubka Tsvetkova Monova was amended to a "severe reprimand." The party membership of Yuliyana Draganova Georgieva, Kina Stoyanova Karamelska, and Khristo Ivanov Georgiev was restored. Ivan Draganov Danev from Perushtitsa was recognized as having unbroken party service from 1947 to 8 August 1951. Only one petition for revision of the most severe party punishment was not allowed.

In discussing certain personal cases, two serious and topical questions were raised. In preparing, discussing, and approving the applications for party membership, public opinion in the candidates' native communities is not being sufficiently consulted, which results in undesirable misunderstandings and negative consequences. Something else also happens—namely that decisions on the most severe party punishments are adopted on the basis of unprovable and sometimes insufficiently investigated facts, involving personal feelings of partiality.

This once more reminds us of how important it is to carefully investigate people and to assess their actions, before adopting decisions affecting their fate.

Rules on Bank Interests Published
AU1506122588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 14 Jun 88 p 2

["Extract from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] Issue No 45 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK published Regulation No 2 about interests that is a rather important document adopted by the Ministry of Economy and Planning and the Bulgarian National Bank.

Regulation No 2 about interests on credits and deposits in national currency stipulates that such interests are to be agreed upon between self-managing economic organizations and banks in accordance with the level of a uniform, basic interest percentage.

Section II of the regulation settles the question of interest on deposits and credits in foreign currency. The basic principle of this regulation is that for deposits of the self-managing organizations' own currency resources the banks must pay interest in accordance with international market conditions. Section III of the regulation deals with questions of bank credits and deposits in the Bulgarian National Bank. Section IV of the regulation deals with interest on bank accounts, and section V deals with the settlement of interest on credits for housing construction.

The aforementioned regulation will become valid as of 1 July 1988.

Roundtable With USSR's Gerasimov and Shishlin
LD1506223988 Prague Television Service in Czech
1910 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Roundtable discussion chaired by Jan Zelenka, director general of Czech Television; with Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry; Nikolay Shishlin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; and Moravek, head of Czech Television Newsreel's International Department. Gerasimov and Shishlin speak in Russian with superimposed Czech translation. Individual speakers cannot be identified—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zelenka] Good evening, esteemed television viewers. As you can see we have met at the roundtable again with our old acquaintances and this time with Nikolay Shishlin, an official of the CPSU Central Committee, who is already well enough known to you, and with Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is known to you from the regular weekly press conferences in Moscow. At the same time, we have with us Comrade Moravek, head of the International Department of the Television Newsreel.

What is it all about? When we have such guests, understandably we want to talk about Soviet foreign policy in connection with the recent talks between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan. The viewers know all that went on. We carried transmissions from Moscow of all events. You were also able to read about these events in great detail in our press. Despite this, we are glad to make use of you, Comrades Shishlin and Gerasimov, today for more knowledgeable reflections because, as we all know, you were eye witnesses. And this is why I would like to open the debate by reflecting on matters which we in television and perhaps in the press, too, have not yet started to reflect.

One round of talks ended. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was concluded and there was a ceremonial exchange of documents. What now? Do you think that it is realistic at all to believe that the next important step, that is, a treaty on strategic missiles, could still be implemented during the term of the Reagan administration?

[Shishlin] I would like above all to thank Comrade Zelenka for this question because I have grown accustomed, when I am with Gennadiy Gerasimov, to having him talk about foreign affairs while I talk only about domestic matters—although we could swap places regularly. I tell you frankly that I believe that the chances for achieving a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons during the current year are not too great. I would assess them at about 30 percent for and 70 percent against. But both sides say that they would like to conclude this treaty. The desire, therefore, exists.

On the other hand, I, of course, agree that we are a very long way apart. The talks in Geneva have shown that there are many technical details with which the experts are unable to cope. Yes, this connection is a correct one. Both Washington and Moscow want this but, of course, one must understand that very delicate and complex problems are at issue.

What do we have? We have an experience from the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The system of inspection has been worked out. It appears that there is now a willingness to bring about a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. And after the Moscow meeting, the U.S. President has been talking about the determination of his administration to progress as far as possible. But the problem of the extremely complicated systems will apparently not allow us to complete the treaty in time. He himself has said that he does not necessarily want to have the treaty by the end of his period of office, that what he wants chiefly is a good treaty. The important thing is that there is continuity, that the next administration should take the baton from the current administration—this does not always happen in the United States. When there is a change of administration they sometimes think that agreements concluded by the previous administration do not have to be too binding for the incoming one. Breaks in continuity do exist in the United States.

[Czech speaker] It is almost a tradition that a new U.S. President at the beginning of his term rejects what has been done by the previous one. True, sometimes it is an illusion, more of a political maneuver, but it makes me wonder whether the new President—who will take up his office quite soon, in 6 months—will weaken the relations between the USSR and the United States and reduce the current level of talks?

[Russian speaker] We hope that this will not happen. The election campaign is going on in the United States at present and, unlike earlier ones, the question of relations with the USSR is not controversial. Neither Vice President Bush nor Massachusetts Governor Dukakis argue about this. However, when the new administration comes into power it will first have to learn a bit about foreign policy, and this takes time. We hope that in this case it will not take long.

[Czech speaker] I think that the election campaign in the United States has still not properly begun, that it will start in [word indistinct], and that it will culminate only after the winter. Only then will the candidates formulate their ideas on foreign policy. Secondly, it is a trend in the United States to say that President Reagan has changed in some way. But I think that it is not only he who has changed—that in the United States a much greater number of people must have changed and that a certain trend is prevailing which could continue—although perhaps in a weaker form than is the case now.

[Second Czech speaker] I have a question with regard to the new President. It is a fact that so far the candidates, whether Democratic or Republican, have not questioned the current policy with regard to relations with the USSR. However, various views were expressed about the so-called space weapons. Do you think that the next President, whether Republican or Democrat, could influence the next stage or in some way show a different attitude to SDI than Reagan?

[Russian speaker] I would say that SDI is, in particular, a dream of [word indistinct] Reagan. Vice President Bush said 5 years ago, when Reagan declared the Star Wars program: Why should we not try to hope that such a system could be created? But I do not think that he is a very zealous supporter of this program. Only last week two statements were issued: one by the Senate commission and the price report of Congress. Both show that nothing will come of this initiative, that these are two more nails into the coffin of the SDI. Congress is already providing less money and the attitude to SDI is changing. After the departure of Reagan, whose dream it is, it will evidently change even more. With regard to Dukakis, he expresses his skepticism quite openly.

So what you have said about the mood in the United States, is quite correct. I had the luck to travel for 3 weeks in the United States just a month ago. I saw places which are not visited that often: from Texas, through Arizona to Alaska, to Hawaii. The attitudes toward me were friendly even in places which have a military-industrial complex, with the largest navy base. Alaska is a very militarized state, and in Hawaii and [word indistinct] I received a very friendly welcome everywhere.

Yes, there is a well-known firm there, [name indistinct], which carries out analyses of public opinion, and as I remember, they compared the public opinion poll of 1986, before Geneva—then, 60 percent of those asked thought that relations between the United States and the USSR were worsening and approximately 24 percent thought that they were improving, and the rest thought that they were remaining the same. In January 1988, 61 percent thought that relations were improving, approximately 30 percent thought they were remaining the same, and the rest thought that they were worsening. It shows that the dynamism of changes of views of the American people is very great. Now the results are simply amazing. The majority of the Americans—and I am sure of that—are favorably disposed toward a radical improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Zelenka] Regarding the question put by Comrade Moravka about whether the views of other politicians are changing, we could apparently draw the conclusion that the general climate of how the Soviet Union and its relations with the United States are viewed is beginning to change.

[Russian speaker] I agree. After the trip, which lasted 3 weeks, I agree that the relationship has changed rapidly and that Reagan himself has changed. When he was in Moscow—as well as after Moscow—he said many things that were totally new for him. For instance, he no longer describes our country as an evil empire. And I believe that the Americans now see that we are not their adversaries, that we are not their enemies but that we are partners in a very important matter, the matter of joint survival on this planet. And they understand that nuclear disarmament must be on the agenda of the day.

[Moravka] I would like to add that the situation has also changed in that the Americans are now after all a bit more knowledgeable about the Soviet Union.

[Zelenka] Or are beginning to be more knowledgeable.

[Moravka] Or are beginning to be more knowledgeable. There are telebridges; Comrade Gorbachev visited the United States, and there are other contacts which did not exist previously. This means that there is some knowledge. We are not going to debate how big it is—probably not very big as yet. But I believe that it has come at the right time, that the openness of Soviet society is some kind of openness toward American society.

[Shishlin] As an aside, there are more contacts but I remember that in the seventies when I was a correspondent in the United States, there were many contacts. Detente was taking place at that time and many journalists were writing—perhaps even I wrote it once or twice—that detente was irreversible. But it was reversed. So, relations are a good thing but they themselves do not determine the final climate. I believe that the chief factor in the change of relations with the Soviet Union is our policy of restructuring, that the change has come about because of that policy. That is the main factor. And I would like to add that the Americans have been compelled to reckon with these realities they have encountered. I have in mind, in particular, their budget deficit as well as the fact that the United States has changed from a previous creditor to the biggest debtor in the world. In addition, the United States has lost its first place on the world market. Thus, it is being shown that the arms race, too, is untenable for American pockets. I believe that Gennadiy will agree with me that judging from the course of the current presidential campaign, judging from the moods prevailing in the United States, the axis of political life is being shifted to the center. Right-wing forces have little chance. Yes, I asked many of my partners what they were thinking about it, and they said: With your restructuring you could soon find yourselves occupying second place in the world—after Japan.

[Czech speaker] There are also certain changes in President Reagan's views, particularly in the fact that he has publicly withdrawn his statement that the Soviet Union is an evil empire. Nevertheless I would like to take up

some negative features which attract attention in Czechoslovakia too. In addition to having direct talks with Comrade Gorbachev, President Reagan also undertook other activities; for example, he invited to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow so-called dissidents. Don't you think that despite all your tolerance which we have noticed, the President, as a guest of the Soviet Union, nevertheless overstepped the mark a bit, or went too far?

[Russian speaker] I think that here he lost his sense of tact a little. Since the President likes Russian proverbs, I had prepared a few Russian proverbs, but I didn't use those proverbs because in the end the President, in his free time, can choose whatever company he likes. He also invited Soviet journalists to that meeting, and later even the U.S. correspondents told me that they were surprised that this meeting was reported in the Soviet press. The people there were very different. For example, a former fascist collaborator who now, after serving his sentence, uses his freedom to behave like this.

[Czech speaker] We know that Academician Sakharov, whom the West considers a dissident, was not invited to this meeting. So who was invited? Who is a dissident in the Soviet Union today?

[Shishlin] It is probably better not to speak about this question, because I am not the official representative of the Foreign Ministry. Gennadiy Gerasimov here, as an official representative, has to (?defend) the U.S. ambassador to some extent. I believe that U.S. Ambassador Matlock clearly made a mistake and invited rather dubious company. It gives the same kind of impression as if Gorbachev went to the United States with a soup kitchen and dished out soup to all those who need the soup kitchens for the poor. The United States is still harping on the same old theme, that of so-called human rights in our country. We cannot say so-called rights. Dissidents do exist, and so do human rights. We have our own human rights, and of course in our country there are also violations of these rights. Yes, IZVESTIYA has written that there have been cases of human rights violations, and we must establish a socialist legal (?system). But that is another issue, and in this respect we do not need lessons from anyone else.

[Czech speaker] I'll come back to Comrade Gorbachev's talks with President Reagan. As was shown at Comrade Gorbachev's press conference, President Reagan evidently rejected some new proposals of the USSR. Do you think that this means that the reduction was not as you expected with regard to the main issue, that is, the problem of disarmament?

[Russian speaker] Of course, we would like more, but we still think that the meeting was useful. I believe that its significance is in particular psychological. What matters is the change in atmosphere in the world under the influence of enthusiasm over the USSR-U.S. agreements. It is not accidental that British Prime Minister

Margaret Thatcher said that the time of negative assessment has passed and that now is the time of positive relations. This does not look like anything specific but in fact this is a great change in mood.

With regard to our proposals, we have for example submitted a proposal on the reduction of the state of armaments and of armed forces in Europe. This should take place in three stages. The United States and the West as such claim that the Warsaw Pact countries are greatly superior in armed forces. We propose to exchange data, to find this lack of balance, and to remove it and then reduce armed forces by 500,000 men and deploy them so that they would have a purely defensive nature. The Americans said: This is not a proposal for us; it is for Vienna. Then the next issue was discussed, the principle of peaceful coexistence. It was not formulated exactly in these words, but in a similar way. It was rather a stormy discussion. The Americans asked for time to think matters over. They went on the side at the Georgiyevskiy Zal, and they did not sit down again and continued the deliberation standing up. Reagan said: You know, my advisers say that we cannot accept it although it looked like quite a harmless formula. They did not explain why. Yes, later on in the press they mentioned it. Obviously they thought it over further afterward.

[Czech speaker] I am taking advantage of the fact that both of you, Comrade Shishlin and Comrade Gerasimov, have been present at the Gorbachev-Reagan talks from the very beginning, from the very first to the very last talk. Could you tell us to what extent do you see the difference in the character of these talks from the first to the fourth round, as you witnessed them all?

[Gerasimov] The first was Geneva, then Reykjavik, then Washington, and finally Moscow. This is an ascending line, toward the top, to commonsense. At the first meeting I was a correspondent, only an observer. At the second, third, and fourth meetings I was a participant. The first meeting was getting acquainted. However, it still led to agreeing with the idea that nuclear war is not possible and cannot be waged. This was the beginning. Reykjavik, it seemed, was a failure, yet it created the basis for further progress on nuclear disarmament. Washington gave us a treaty, and Moscow gave us not only the completion of the job—the exchange of ratification documents—but also the atmosphere of the need to continue on the path of nuclear disarmament and of disarmament as such. I know that Nikolay will agree.

[Shishlin] Yes, I agree and want to point out one detail of the Moscow meeting. Some political commentators complain now that it yielded no sensational events. But this is actually the main sensational event. It shows that relations are becoming balanced, that they are becoming healthier, and that they are changing over from the previous base of hostility and distrust to the base of realism.

There are still problems. We have heard very good assessment from Mrs Thatcher and other leading Western officials. President Reagan himself is satisfied. But Carlucci, his defense secretary, and National Security Adviser Powell cooled the atmosphere and started to say that the USSR remains the greatest enemy and that it has enormous military force. Carlucci immediately went to Japan and demanded the increased defense [word indistinct]. This was discussed recently at the NATO Council session. All in all, the fight is still going on. There is a military-industrial complex in the United States. We have not made this up, it was the idea of President Eisenhower. President Reagan believes it does not exist. We however realize that some forces are not interested in disarmament.

I think that there is also another essential contribution of the meeting. For a long time Soviet-U.S. relations were based on negativism. They were divided by the arms race (?which had) a negative impact. It was in Moscow that for the first time a new element appeared in the talks: The two sides were not blaming each other but were trying to come to a realization that what is necessary is at least parallel actions, if not joint ones.

Also what happened in Moscow—Gennadiy has already mentioned it—the psychological atmosphere was really different. And then there was the dramatic moment when Reagan said, when taking leave in Georgiyevskiy Zal, that his relation to Mr and Mrs Gorbachev is that of a friend. It was not only an emotional moment. Here was a man who was taking leave of his pleasant hosts. There was however something more in it too. The main consequence of the Moscow meeting is the fact that the cold war is on the way out and is ending. Some people in the West do not agree with this, such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and also Kissinger who say: The cold war remains; the USSR is still enemy number one. The polemics continue.

[Czech speaker] If you will allow me, I will now bring Czechoslovak policy into it. We follow a great deal the entire policy of which Comrade Gorbachev says: Let us build our common European house. Czechoslovakia has put forward a proposal, announced by Comrade Jakes, our general secretary, for creating a zone of confidence along the border between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. You surely know the content of this proposal. Do you think that this proposal could help significantly in building this European house and mutual trust?

[Russian speaker] Yes. After all, we say that our proposal on how to proceed at all stages does not exclude other ideas at all. Rather it welcomes them, including the idea about which you have been talking. These are good proposals. The West in effect does not have reasons for rejecting them. They say they are afraid of an attack by Soviet tanks and by Warsaw Pact troops in general. But if there were to be a corridor where forces would be disengaged this would be far more difficult. I would like to remind you that at the third special session of the UN General Assembly, Prague's initiative was stressed not

only in the speech by the Czechoslovak representative but also in the speech made by our foreign minister, Comrade Shevardnadze. The Soviet Union naturally does not possess a monopoly of initiative and truth. All Soviet foreign policy is developed as a policy that reflects the views of our allies and our friends, and it is corrected by them.

[Czech speaker] Let me come back to one question which was also on the agenda at Moscow, and that is the question of Afghanistan. The Geneva accords have been secured and the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan is taking place. However, it turns out that Pakistan is not fulfilling these accords. Firstly, can you tell me precisely in what respect Pakistan is not fulfilling these accords? And secondly, could this state of affairs affect the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan?

[Russian speaker] Under the agreement with Afghanistan, Pakistan—and Afghanistan too, incidentally—undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other party and not to try to bring about a change in the government in the other country. Now we see that Pakistan is supporting and encouraging the armed opposition. It is providing them with arms on a very extensive scale; It is supplying weapons; It is about to open an Afghan information agency in Peshawar which will represent this armed opposition. In other words, it is clearly violating its undertakings.

Why is it doing this? Well, there are a number of reasons. Pakistan receives U.S. aid for itself too; In addition, the Afghan rebels also represent a considerable force in Pakistan and they want to rule. But this is definitely a violation, we have already spoken about this several times, and we have said that the United States is partly to blame for this. And we have pointed out that this could lead to certain consequences. However, the schedule for the withdrawal of our troops is being maintained. In addition, the response to this was given in the meeting the day before yesterday between Comrade Gorbachev and the Afghan President Najibullah. Of course, the continuing interference in Afghanistan's affairs brings a new element into the situation in which it will be necessary to review that situation, even though we would be loath to do this.

[Zelenka] Let us assume that the withdrawal of the troops will be completed. How do you view the situation? What, in your view, is the likely turn of events in Afghanistan? Incidentally, Comrade Moravek, I can confirm that this question has been asked by very many viewers, generally worried viewers, in their letters to us.

[Russian speaker] The only path is the policy of national reconciliation, because otherwise there will be a bloody civil war. President Najibullah says that his government is strong enough to withstand the armed opposition, but at the same time he appeals to the opposition to take part in government. He is willing to hand over a large number

of ministerial posts to representatives of the opposition in order to seek peace through national reconciliation. Otherwise the civil war will continue and the Afghan people are tired.

[Moravek] I would say that the important thing is the way in which the government gets its act together, because it cannot now rely on someone else solving its problems for it; it has to solve them itself. And as Comrade Gerasimov said, it must negotiate with all sections of the population, and if it manages this, it will resolve the situation by itself.

[Russian speaker] I would like to add a couple of words on this point. I understand why the viewers ask this question. We are all asking the same question, because the turn of events in Afghanistan can lead to a number of options, it can take a number of paths. On the other hand, what we see in Afghanistan is not one, not two, but a number of different political forces: there is Najibullah's government, the legal power in the Afghan Republic; there is the strong armed opposition in which the Peshawar seven play an important role; then there are armed opposition factions which are not connected with the Peshawar seven and which operate on Afghan territory. Latest information indicates that the influence of these factions, these groups, is increasing in Afghan affairs. We must be honest: As we have already said, there is also an external influence here on the Afghan situation—external interventions, and when you look at the political equation, you can see that it is an equation which contains a number of unknown factors. It is difficult to say that having said one thing, that is what will in fact happen. No, unfortunately today we can solve this equation in a desirable way only to a limited degree of probability, and that is along the path of consistent implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. As I have said, interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan will obviously put the Soviet Union in a new situation in which the Soviet Union will be obliged to rethink the equation I have referred to.

[Czech speaker] One more question to which our viewers have drawn our attention. After the Moscow meeting, Secretary Shultz left for the Middle East to have talks with various politicians. As we heard recently on the news or read in the press, Comrade Shevardnadze also had certain talks with some Middle East politicians during the current session of the UN General Assembly. Is this the result, or are these steps connected with the talks held during the summit meeting on this issue, on this regional problem?

[Russian speaker] Regional problems were really discussed during the Moscow summit. But this is not a followup on that summit but rather a continuation and search for opportunities to resolve the matter.

Shultz had his plan. This was, I believe, his fourth visit in this context. He went there for the fourth time after the Moscow summit and a visit to Brussels. But his plans

have not been accepted even by Israel. Shamir is against the plan. So I believe that it will be necessary to return to the joint concept of an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, with the participation of PLO representatives and with the participation of members, all permanent members of the Security Council.

As regards the meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and Mr Shamir, this was one of many meetings with various politicians, and we do not have to agree with all of them. That meeting lasted 2 hours. Shamir said that he opposes a multilateral conference, and that he favors bilateral talks. Comrade Shevardnadze asked him: Well, if bilateral talks were to be held, would you be willing to return land to the Palestinians? But Israel does not have a clear-cut concept on how to tackle the situation. It only wants to delay things since time is working against it.

[Czech speaker] Let me discuss the last topic. The CPSU conference is approaching. There are no doubts that these foreign policy issues will be discussed there too, and that the USSR's foreign policy will be considered. In your view, which foreign policy issue will become the main topic when Soviet foreign policy is discussed at the conference?

[Russian speaker] There are no secrets here. The Central Committee thesis on the party conference has already been published, and the most important conclusion has already been drawn. We think that our socialist friends share it. We have redirected our policy into new political thinking, and thus we were able to change the negative trends in the process of foreign political life and to distance ourselves a bit from that very dangerous brink on which we found ourselves. We are coming to the party conference with the already verified practice of strategic line in the sphere of foreign policy. Our experience shows that the matter of priority for us is to consolidate mutual relations among the socialist friends. Our results would be much more modest if Soviet foreign policy did not also include the ideas of our socialist allies. Our joint orientation is to continue to strive for better results and to aim for a radical improvement of the world situation, because we live in a world that is mutually interlinked and mutually dependant, and we have one choice only.

[Czech speaker] Thank you again for today's discussion. I thank Nikolay Shishlin and Gennadiy Gerasimov. The discussion comes to an end. See you again, our dear guests!

Antonov-Led USSR Delegation Continues Visit
AU1606111888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Topical Issues of Developing Czechoslovak-Soviet Relations Discussed; Comrade Milos Jakes Received Aleksey Antonov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Czechoslovak-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Opens Its Session"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers who had arrived in the CSSR on Monday [13 June] at the head of the Soviet delegation to the 28th session of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, in Prague on the day of his arrival.

The reception was attended by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary; and by Rudolf Rohlicek, first CSSR deputy premier.

In a friendly and comradely talk the two representatives discussed the topical issues of developing CSSR-USSR relations in the economic sphere. They appraised with satisfaction the positive results achieved in intensifying mutual economic contacts in the past period. At the same time they stressed the existence of a number of possibilities and reserves for further systematically expanding CSSR-USSR economic and scientific-technical cooperation which can be used for the benefit of the national economies of both countries.

The basic directive for this collaboration lies in the conclusions adopted at the Moscow talks of the general secretaries of the CPCZ and CPSU Central Committees in January 1988, when the specific tasks, steps, and course of implementing the conclusions, both in the nearest future, and over a longer period of time, were formulated. M. Jakes underscored that the CSSR is most interested in a thoroughly worked-out Concept of CSSR-USSR Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation for a Period of 15-20 Years (now under preparation), especially from the viewpoint of drawing up the Forecast for the Development of the Czechoslovak Economy Through the Year 2005.

Milos Jakes and Aleksey Antonov also focused their attention on problems of coordinating the national economy plans of their two countries through the year 1995; on the development of relations in the exchange of scientific-technical knowledge; on measures for raising the technical standards and quality of mutual goods deliveries; and particularly on the consistent and effective implementation of such new forms of economic cooperation, as direct relations between the enterprises and organizations of the two countries.

The reception was attended by Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

The 28th session of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation began on the same day. The Czechoslovak delegation to the meeting is led by Rudolf Rohlicek, the Soviet delegation by Aleksey Antonov.

The session agenda includes the state of the implementation of accords from the January 1988 meeting of Milos Jakes and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretaries of the CPCZ and CPSU Central Committees respectively, and from the November 1987 meeting of the heads of the two governments, Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov. In particular, the session will assess the state of progress of such important tasks as the coordination of CSSR and USSR national economic plans for the period 1991-95 (which are being prepared); the progress of work on the Concept of CSSR-USSR Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation For a Period of 15-20 Years; and the improvement of the technical standards and quality of mutually delivered machinery and equipment.

Considerable attention is being devoted to bilateral cooperation in implementing the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA States Through the Year 2000. In order to enhance the effectiveness of this cooperation, it was agreed to work out large scientific-technical and technological target projects, including projects for developing special technological equipment, as well as materials and production technologies for various sectors.

The commission is also considering the development of new forms of cooperation between enterprises and organizations in the CSSR and USSR, and the improvement of the mechanism of mutual cooperation. On the basis of an analysis of the current development of direct relations between Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises, the commission will discuss the timetable for preparing proposals on how to improve the mechanism of cooperation and the development of its new forms, such as pricing, the use of national currencies in clearing direct relations, and so forth.

The commission dealt with the fulfillment of intergovernmental agreements on Czechoslovak participation in the construction of such integration projects on USSR territory as the Krivoy Rog extraction and ore preparation combine, the gas pipeline from Yamburg to the USSR's western border, the Urals gas manufacturing complex, and the Central Repair Plant of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline, which are to provide iron ore and earth gas resources for the CSSR on a long-term basis.

Lenart Interviewed on CEMA Integration
AU1506122188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jun 88 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Svatopluk Smutny and Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent Jozef Krsko: "On New Forms of Cooperation; Prior to the Prague Session of CEMA"; date and place of interview not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The 44th CEMA session will meet at the level of the heads of member countries' governments in Prague from 5 to 7 July. A consultative meeting of the fraternal

parties' Central Committee secretaries for economic issues, held in Budapest on 1 to 2 June, discussed preparations for this important session, which is to assess current problems concerning the restructuring of economic relations among CEMA countries. The participants in that consultative meeting assessed principal viewpoints and exchanged experiences from work on the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, from party resolutions concerning the sphere of science and technology, and from the Collective Concept of the International Socialist Division of Labor that is being drafted. Views were also exchanged on current problems of mutual cooperation and socialist economic integration. In connection with the results of the aforesaid consultative meeting and preparations for the 44th CEMA session, RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA asked Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who headed our delegation to the consultative meeting in Budapest, for an interview.

[Smutny, Krsko] How is Czechoslovakia participating in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000?

[Lenart] In view of the political, economic, and social importance of the comprehensive program for both our country and the socialist community as a whole, supreme party and state agencies have established, and continue to establish, conditions for the implementation of the adopted commitments. A total of 332 CSSR organizations are involved in securing these commitments. Cooperation with the other CEMA member states is based on 103 international agreements and 339 contracts. The solution of scientific-research projects is provided for in the CSSR in 80 tasks of the state plan of technical development, in 88 tasks of individual branch ministries' economic plans of technical development, and, the rest, in the tasks that are incorporated in the state plan of basic and economic research.

A total of 155 research and development tasks under the comprehensive program were completed in Czechoslovakia in 1987, 52 of them have already been applied in production, and 87 have been prepared for production. Apart from this, additional prototypes, models, and samples of new types of equipment and materials have been manufactured and tested, some of which have been passed on to foreign cooperating organizations within the framework of the exchange and verification of accomplished results.

[Smutny, Krsko] The comprehensive program focuses on five priorities. Could you name some of our results in individual priorities?

[Lenart] In the first priority direction—introduction of electronics into the national economy—the Czechoslovak side has, for instance, within the framework of the

uniform system of digital information transmission facilities, passed on to interested states prototypes of terminal units and revised production documentation. The specifications of the prototype of a fourth generation television set with a built-in Czechoslovak decoder have been tested and the start of production cooperation with the Soviet "Rubin" organization is expected before the end of this year. The start of cooperation in the production of a new compact disc player, the development of which was completed last year, is also planned for this year.

[Smutny, Krsko] The second priority is comprehensive automation....

[Lenart] Under this priority direction, we have completed the research and prepared contracts for the application of two types of industrial robots and concluded contracts for deliveries of portal-type robots of median carrying capacity, for robot-equipped machining complexes, for a series of electromechanical modules for robots of lower carrying capacity, for a series of portal-type robots of higher carrying capacity for operation in a set-up of flexible manufacturing modules, for a modular robot for the assembly of small parts, for modular equipment for the automatic replacement of grips and tools, and so forth.

[Smutny, Krsko] What have we contributed to the third priority, the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering?

[Lenart] We have manufactured and tested a revised version of series inching [krokovy] linear driving mechanisms for VVER-1000 reactors. Two prototypes of modernized inching linear driving mechanisms for VVER reactors are now being completed and prepared for testing in the CSSR and the USSR. As regards the development of technology and equipment for the processing, treatment, and storage of radioactive waste, we have carried out the trial operation of a bitumen line and, on the basis of the results of this trial operation, have launched the volume production of this line.

[Smutny, Krsko] What about the fourth priority—new materials and technologies for their production and processing?

[Lenart] We have developed an automated technological calibrating workplace for powder metallurgy technological processes, which permits a 100 percent increase in labor productivity. We have started the production of new types of replaceable plates with abrasion-resistant coating for chip cutting [triskove obrabeni]. The twofold increase in the service life of these plates allows labor productivity in the chip cutting of metals to be increased by at least one-third. Similarly, a number of new solutions has been accomplished in chemistry, such as the

effective catalyst dilactamate Spolana [efektivni katalyzator dilaktamat Spolana], on the basis of which we have concluded a contract for deliveries of the dilactamate to the USSR and other CEMA countries.

[Smutny, Krsko] The fifth priority is the accelerated development of biotechnologies....

[Lenart] I would emphasize the contribution of the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet laboratory [in Nitra] to improving the quality of the properties of farm animals; within the framework of its activity, the laboratory has already performed over 1,000 transfers of beef cattle embryos. The standard of the "Elisa" kits for the immuno-enzymatic diagnosis of infectious diseases has been further enhanced. Of the 1,000 kits produced, almost one-quarter has been exported.

[Smutny, Krsko] Do you regard the aforementioned and other results as satisfactory?

[Lenart] Besides positive examples, there are also shortcomings, untapped reserves, and new opportunities. With respect to about two-thirds of completed research tasks, for instance, we have not succeeded in ensuring the entire research-production-service cycle. Scientific research ended with a functional model, a prototype, but our responsible economic agencies have not managed to ensure continuous volume production based on binding specialization and production sharing. We have also not always succeeded in projecting the implementation of scientific-research projects into national economic plans, especially in those cases where production was conditional on costly investments. We are analyzing the causes of untapped reserves and shortcomings and require that appropriate measures be taken to eliminate them.

[Smutny, Krsko] On a number of projects we cooperate with other states. How do you evaluate this coordination?

[Lenart] Many instances of coordination and cooperation with organizations of other CEMA member states deserve appreciation, because its results have established the possibilities and prerequisites for the CSSR to complete the solution of 155 projects under the comprehensive program. I would cite as an example the prototype of a 2d class ground station for satellite broadcasting, which has been successfully tested on a polygon in the USSR, or the securing of the trial operation of electronic direct-dial telephone exchanges on the basis of an agreement with the Soviet "Lonis" organization.

[Smutny, Krsko] Do you regard existing forms of cooperation as sufficient?

[Lenart] The CPCZ leadership devotes permanent attention to the problems of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. In discussing these problems, it has arrived at the conclusion that new approaches to shaping this cooperation are inevitable and, by the same token, that

the existing mechanism of cooperation must be restructured. For the CSSR, an early solution to these issues is an important prerequisite for the successful implementation of the strategy of the party's economic policy aimed at the intensification of economic and social development.

We identify with the stand of the other fraternal parties that we must not continue along the old paths if the scientific-technical revolution is to be quickly combined with the advantages of socialism.

[Smutny, Krsko] What does that mean in specific terms?

[Lenart] It means, above all, that we must achieve a high quality and technical standard of products with new properties while drastically reducing the per-unit consumption of raw and processed materials and energy. It means, furthermore, that we must reach world standards in the social productivity of labor while simultaneously establishing the inevitable and requisite conditions for attaining ecological balance. Without meeting these conditions it will be impossible to raise the living standards of our people and to reduce our technical-economic vulnerability to a minimum, regardless of planned cooperation also with the nonsocialist world.

[Smutny, Krsko] How does this affect the comprehensive program?

[Lenart] The untapped possibilities, resources, and reserves in the implementation of the comprehensive program lie primarily in the management of multilateral cooperation by CEMA agencies. New forms and methods corresponding to the principles adopted within the framework of restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration have so far been insufficiently developed in their work. The multilaterally agreed measures are conceptual and correct but we are not succeeding, for instance, in combining the solution of scientific-research projects with technical-economic provisions and with subsequent specialization and cooperation in manufacturing.

To accomplish the crucial tasks of the comprehensive program after 1990, we propose that ways be sought of pooling the member states' resources or that these tasks be tackled by setting up large international institutions staffed on the basis of international competitions and equipped with state-of-the-art technology.

[Smutny, Krsko] Which other problems of cooperation need to be solved?

[Lenart] We believe that the methods and content of the coordination of the CEMA member states' economic policies in the price, foreign currency, credit, monetary, and exchange rate spheres, in particular, have to be deepened and given a more concrete shape. Also the license policy, which can be an important source of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, requires a

reevaluation. A coordinated course of action in the acquisition of licenses would make it possible to achieve greater effects than is the case now when each country or producer proceeds independently and in isolation.

The economic theory and practice of CEMA should become more flexible and focus on an economic analysis of our community's market, on scientific prognoses of its development, creation of the mechanisms for integration plans and markets, new approaches to the fixing of prices and exchange rates, creation of conditions for information, on building prerequisites for the use of such new forms as international corporation, and so forth.

[Smutny, Krsko] There has recently been talk about drafting a so-called collective concept. What is the present state of work on it?

[Lenart] A collective concept for the international division of labor for the years 1991-2005 is now on the drawing board. In drafting it, we have already agreed on

a joint strategy, which represents an important step on the road to solving the substantive, systemic, and organizational problems of international socialist economic integration. The collective concept is meant to ensure the transition to a qualitatively new level of cooperation in the future. The official view of the CEMA member states on this very important problem—as accepted by the participants in the Budapest consultative meeting—will be discussed at the 44th CEMA session in Prague.

[Smutny, Krsko] Thank you for the interview.

Foreign Minister Chnoupek Visits Nicaragua

For CTK and Managua reportage on the visit to Nicaragua of Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, including his discussions with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto, see the Nicaragua subsection of the Central America section of the 16 June Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Honecker, Austrian Chancellor Meet in Berlin

Talks Begin 15 Jun

LD1506104488 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0850 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jun (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Dr Franz Vranitzky, chancellor of the Republic of Austria, started their official talks in Berlin this morning.

Other personages from both countries are taking part in the exchange of information and opinions at the start of the 2d day of the visit to the GDR by the head of the Austrian Government. Among them are Politburo member Guente Mittag, SED Central Committee secretary and deputy chairman of the Council of State; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; and Dr Gerhard Beil, minister for foreign trade. Participants from the guest's entourage include Dr Rudolf Streicher, federal minister for transport and nationalized industries; Ingrid Tichy-Schreder, vice president of the Federal Chamber of Industry; and Dr Josef Tschach, section head in the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Also taking part are both countries' ambassadors.

Erich Honecker warmly welcomed Dr Franz Vranitzky in the foyer of the official seat of the Council of State on Berlin's Marx-Engels Square. Both went to his office where they commenced their talks. The Austrian chancellor then signed the chairman of the Council of State's visitors book.

Relations, Disarmament Discussed

LD1506145288 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1205 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jun (ADN)—Official talks began today in the State Council building in Berlin's Marx-Engels Square between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Dr Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic.

In the presence of other representatives of the two countries, Erich Honecker and Dr Franz Vranitzky, in their exchange of views and information, first turned to current problems of world affairs and then discussed the state of and prospects for bilateral relations.

In their discussion of topical problems of the international situation, Erich Honecker and Dr Franz Vranitzky spoke of the importance of the Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, and welcomed its results. The coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an initial, concrete step toward a world free of nuclear weapons. The progress achieved at the summit on a 50 percent reduction in Soviet and U.S.

strategic offensive weapons, on limiting nuclear weapons tests, and on a global chemical weapons ban, is encouraging for the continuing process of disarmament.

Now that a start has been made on nuclear disarmament, all the more importance must be attached to drastically reducing armed forces and arms in Europe, Erich Honecker stressed. The plan proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, which includes eliminating asymmetries and eventually reducing each armed force by 500,000 men, reflects the common standpoint of the Warsaw Pact and could be a feasible path to follow.

It is important to remember, they noted, that persistent efforts by all forces of reason and realism are required in order to complete the change for the better on a lasting and irreversible basis. No break can be allowed in the process of disarmament. The important role of smaller states was also stressed in this respect.

Erich Honecker expressed his conviction that the "International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones" to take place next week in Berlin will give fresh impetus to the disarmament process. Federal Chancellor Dr Vranitzky paid tribute to the GDR's initiative in convening such a meeting, and reaffirmed that a senior official will attend as representative of the Austrian Government, along with a representative of his party, the Socialist Party.

Erich Honecker and Dr Franz Vranitzky stressed the importance of Austria's continuing neutrality as a stabilizing factor in the European situation. They agreed in noting that the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE process are of special importance for the European policy of detente. Both sides spoke in favor of an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting with a substantial and balanced document.

Referring to bilateral relations, Erich Honecker and Dr Franz Vranitzky noted that over recent years, talks between the two states at a senior and top level have always led to important impulses for the development of goodneighborly relations. This good tradition of trusting dialogue should be continued in the future. Both sides endorsed the will of their states to develop further the high level of cooperation already achieved. The good, trusting relations are an example of the fruitfulness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, of cooperation between states with different social systems.

Economic cooperation has undergone a considerable surge during the past few years. Federal Chancellor Dr Vranitzky noted in this respect that Austria is watching with great admiration and respect how the GDR is pursuing economic and trade policies which encourage the development of a lively export business. This also reflects a political line of principle.

Erich Honecker described economic cooperation as a stable material foundation for overall relations. The principles laid down by treaty in the economic as well as scientific-technological fields have proved themselves and provided good prospects. Cultural exchange occupies an important place in bilateral relations. The wide network of international agreements existing between the GDR and the Republic of Austria lend their relations predictability and stability.

In conclusion, the attendant ministers of both sides were instructed to continue discussion of further questions of deepening cooperation.

Present at the talks were: on the GDR side, Dr Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the State Council; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the Chancery of the Chairman of the State Council; Klaus Wolf, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Austrian Republic; Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier; Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer; and Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, head of the Main Press Department in the Foreign Ministry.

Present on the Austrian side were Dr Rudolf Streicher, federal minister of transport and nationalized industries; Dr Franz Wunderbaldinger, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Austrian Republic to the GDR; Kommerzialrat Ingrid Tichy-Schreder, Bundestag deputy and vice president of the Federal Chamber of Industry; Ministerialrat Dr Josef Tschach, section head in the Ministry of Economic Affairs; Oberrat Ulrich Stacher, head of section in the Federal Chancellor's Office for the Coordination of Affairs; Dr Johann Sereinig, head of the federal chancellor's cabinet; Legate Dr Ernst Sucharipa, head of the East Department in the Federal Foreign Ministry; and Legate Dr Eva Nowotny, foreign policy advisor to the federal chancellor.

Dinner Guests Listed

LD1506232288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1818 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 15 Jun (ADN)—The representatives of the GDR and Austria have drawn up a positive balance of the traditionally good relations between the two countries, which testifies to the vitality of the Helsinki process and clearly illustrates the possibilities inherent in peaceful coexistence. During a dinner given by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, this evening in honor of Dr Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, the two statesmen proposed toasts.

Attending the dinner in the Council of State building in Berlin's Marx-Engels Square, which began with the playing of the national anthems of Austria and the GDR,

were other members of the party and state leadership of the GDR and the persons accompanying the Austrian head of government. [passage omitted]

Present at the festive get-together in the banquet hall of the Council of State were Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, along with SED Central Committee Politburo members Hermann Axen, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolkowski, and Guenter Mittag. Also in attendance were Professor Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front; Professor Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany; Dr Guenter Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, and deputy chairman of the State Council; and Hans-Dieter Raspe, acting chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. Others present included Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other members of the SED Central Committee, including Minister for Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer, and Minister for Foreign Trade Dr Gerhard Beil. Other members of the Council of Ministers attending the dinner were Werner Buschmann, Dr Rudi Georgi, Ernst Hoefner, Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck, Professor Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, Wolfgang Mitzinger, Dr Kurt Singhuber, Dr Udo-Dieter Wange, and Guenter Wyschowsky. Members of the Council of State also attended the dinner, as did members of the Presidium of the People's Chamber. Other representatives of the political, economic, and intellectual-cultural life of the GDR, including Professor Dr Werner Scheler, president of the Academy of Sciences, were at the function. Also present were the general directors of combines and foreign trade enterprises which traditionally cooperate closely with Austrian companies.

Tariff Reduction Possible

AU1506163788 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1632 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] East Berlin—Austria wants to stimulate its good economic relations with the GDR by reducing its duties on industrial goods imported from the GDR to the same level Austria applies to imports from the EC countries.

This was stated by Chancellor Vranitzky after a meeting with the GDR's state and party chief, Erich Honecker.

In addition to bilateral relations, they discussed security, peace, and disarmament, Vranitzky said.

Vranitzky Interviewed on Relations Before Visit

LD0906140388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 8 Jun 88

[Text] Vienna, 8 Jun (ADN)—Dr Franz Vranitzky, Austria's federal chancellor, has acknowledged the bilateral relations between his country and the GDR are extremely good.

In an interview today with regard to his forthcoming official visit to the GDR, he told GDR journalists: "There are no problems, and relations are first-class. Since the establishment of relations in 1972 they have deepened constantly, intensified continuously, and improved. This is probably due mainly to the statesmen on both sides having again and again placed open dialogue in the foreground; they have been straightforward and they have approached the individual questions in a very pragmatic and technically-oriented manner."

He said he is looking forward with great interest and pleasure to his talks in Berlin. Economic relations are in the foreground of these, along with trade and cooperation in investments. "But, one should not limit oneself to those. I believe that contacts in cultural spheres too, and in human relations have developed well, and that the possibility of continuing to improve this exists. Let me say that I am one of those who think that we all have to see our bilateral relations from the perspective of a new European dimension."

Asked how he judges the present international situation, the federal chancellor said with regard to Europe: "For decades we have had no armed conflicts. I do not believe that there is anyone in Europe who could seriously imagine armed clashes between European states in the future." Thus, Europe provides a significant contrast to other continents.

Of course, he sees the international situation also from the aspect of the efforts by the USSR and the United States to make progress in the area of arms limitation. But it must be borne in mind that belief in these efforts is not shared by everyone in the world. "The greatest mistake that can be made now is to compensate for every reduction in nuclear weapons with an increase in conventional ones. It is important to work on this now, in order to prevent it." Austria and the GDR can make a considerable contribution to this by working for stability, detente, and a lessening of tension in their spheres of influence and activity.

"If the bilateral relations between many other states were to take on just such a complexion, the result would be a great common unity."

Dr Franz Vranitzky said he assessed the results achieved at the summit in Moscow positively. "Of course, one can always raise the objection that it was only a small step, a few percentage points of the nuclear arsenals and of the potential. But it is the first step at all in post-war history. It is not only a limitation, but also a real reduction. It is without doubt encouraging that the two superpower spokesmen continue to maintain this positive atmosphere and have declared their fundamental support for the next steps. I believe that that is quite a lot. Even if one has to consider that a great amount of detailed work will be necessary to specify further steps, I believe one can and should build on it."

Austrian Journalists Interview Honecker

AU1406165788 Vienna NEUE AZ
in German 14 Jun 88 p 5

[Fritz Dittlbacher report: "Honecker: Independent Course Instead of 'Perestroika'"]

[Text] Erich Honecker—he will be 76 in August—is still the personification of the Old Guard of "those before Gorbachev" in the East Bloc. Today, this son of a miner from the Saarland unites in his person the function of party and state leader. There is still no declared successor for Honecker, who was born in 1912. NEUE AZ, together with three other Austrian papers, was granted an interview with the highest GDR statesman.

Question: Is "perestroika," Gorbachev's economic and social reorganization, also applicable to the GDR?

Answer: You know, perestroika resulted from the internal needs of the Soviet Union. And—although I know the Soviet Union very well—I do not know all the thoughts that led to perestroika. I have always seen it only as a means to break up a certain incrustation of social life, while strengthening socialism is important from the economic and social points of view. The main interest of the GDR lies in supporting this policy.

Here in this state the situation is completely different. For years we have recorded a growth in national income of 4 to 4.5 percent. For years we have increased industrial goods production. Net production has grown by an average of 8 percent.... It is perfectly clear that everybody has to analyze and define the next tasks according to his own abilities.

Question: Are you considering a price reform, like in the Soviet Union?

Answer: You proceed from an idea that has been widely propagated in the nonsocialist world: That the Communists are, so to speak, Moscow's henchmen, and that everything that is carried out there is repeated in our country. This is certainly not the case. I have to point out to you that it is stated in the first appeal of the KPD of 11 June 1945 that we Communists do not intend to apply the Soviet system to Germany. And—regarding detailed questions—it is a fact that glasnost and perestroika resulted from Soviet needs. Anyway, in this field we pursue the course which was defined at the 11th party congress: This means more stable prices for basic consumer goods. And we still believe that we are not changing the law of values in this way, but that this is a way to divide the produced national income.

Question: Referring to the events around the East Berlin Zion Church: Has your policy toward the church changed?

Answer: I would say that the relations between state and church are good, but not without conflicts. The reports on disturbances in this relationship largely result from the fact that groups that basically have nothing to do with the church abuse church events for their own purposes. Regarding the events in January, I have always said that the 200,000 people who participated in the Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg rally are, after all, more important than 70 rowdies.

Question: They carried a banner with a slogan of Rosa Luxemburg's (Freedom is always the freedom of those who think differently).

Answer: You know, Rosa Luxemburg drafted the KPD program. In this draft you will hardly find the words that were written on the banner. Rosa Luxemburg herself refrained from including these words in the program.

Question: It is interesting that you clearly dissociate yourself from this slogan.

Answer: I dissociate myself from this slogan because precisely the people who think differently might be the ones who do not accept this slogan. For we witnessed the SA and the SS—I myself was in a concentration camp—and thus you have to tolerate the fact that I distinguish between people who think normally and people who think differently.

I would say that I have never thought of disturbing a Catholic procession. On the contrary: We stood devoutly at the roadside. This is political culture.

[Within the body of the article the following boxed statements by Honecker:]

"...on the Moscow summit: I think that several perspectives result from it—also politically. Regarding the disarmament issue, there is an agreement with the Soviet Union which had the mandate of the Warsaw Pact states. A successful implementation of the definitions which were made at the summit will also lead to considerable relief for the national economy. In any case, arms reduction will have favorable effects on the development of social policy."

"On joint economic relations: We are greatly interested in further developing economic cooperation with Austria. Both sides benefit from it equally. For in the past few years our economic relations have developed dynamically.... All things considered, there is a solid basis for an optimistic forecast of economic cooperation."

"Regarding Austria's relations with the EC, it is important that Austria's neutrality will not be impaired by this development. For this permanent neutrality is not my invention, but the result of a postwar development. The EC is not only aiming at a common market by 1992...the EC will also be a political organization—and thus several

questions arise. Maybe the special economic relations between the GDR and Austria will be prejudiced in a certain way—for there are several obstacles within the EC."

ADN Notes Honecker Interview

LD1406185788 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1347 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Vienna, 14 Jun (ADN)—The Austrian newspapers DIE PRESSE, NEUE AZ, VOLKSSTIMME and the KLEINE ZEITUNG (Graz) reported in detail today on the interview which Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council granted, last week to representatives of these papers to mark the visit by Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky to the GDR.

At the start of the meeting with the Austrian journalists, Erich Honecker made the following statement:

"For the fourth time now, I am able to welcome here representatives of important Austrian mass media. I believe that this fact, too, is an expression of what characterizes overall relations between our states: a high level and consistency. For us these are a living example of how states with different social orders, without blurring their differences, can cooperate on our old continent in the interest of lasting peace and mutual benefit.

"In difficult times in international affairs, too, the GDR and Austria have continued their dialogue as a basis for fruitful partnership, and thus have had a stabilizing effect on the overall European climate.

"Our talk is taking place at an eventful and decisive time. For the first time in the history of mankind whole categories of weapons are being completely eliminated through the INF Treaty. The Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan was an important impetus for further disarmament steps. The Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting has entered a decisive phase. The third UN special session on disarmament has begun its work, and in a few days time here in Berlin envoys from all over the world will gather for the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones. All these are encouraging signs for an improvement in international relations. We regard this as a success for the realistic policy of many states and of years of efforts by the peace-loving forces of all continents.

"It is now necessary to consolidate these positive trends. While disarmament is taking place in one area, arms escalation must not be allowed to increase in other directions. Rather it is necessary to continue consistently the disarmament process and to make it irreversible."

On internal development in the GDR, Erich Honecker referred initially to the residential construction program:

"We have set ourselves the target of solving the housing question as a social problem by the year 1990. From 1971 to 1987 more than 2,840,500 homes were newly built or modernized. This means that 8.5 million citizens received new homes—more than half the citizens in our country. The realization of this program will be the fulfillment of the 100-year-old dream of the German working class for good and good-value housing."

Regarding the unity of economic and social policy, he said:

"Social security expresses itself in full employment, and low prices—which have been stable for decades—for basic foodstuffs, rents and fares, have become a matter of course in the life of every GDR citizen. This is the case from Cape Arkona to the Erzgebirge. The people of our country are proud of the values they have created. The most important concern of the citizens and of the state is to preserve what has been achieved and to increase it for the well-being of all the people."

The text of the interview which Erich Honecker granted to the journalists is as follows:

Question: What prospects for economic cooperation with Austria are there in the near future? Will new projects be discussed during the visit by Chancellor Vranitzky?

Answer: We have great interest in further expansion of economic cooperation. It is of equal benefit to both sides. During recent years our economic relations have developed dynamically despite more complicated conditions in the world market. In the regular talks between government representatives and as a result of intensive contacts between the economic circles of the two states, specific steps for further economic and scientific-technological cooperation have been established. These include forms of direct cooperation between GDR combines, enterprises, and establishments and Austrian firms, including cooperation in third markets. The opening of an office of the Austrian Laenderbank will certainly provide a useful impetus.

Forward-looking possibilities for closer cooperation derive increasingly from the demands of the scientific and technological revolution. I am thinking here of the direct cooperation by scientists in joint research projects, which is already in practice between our countries.

All in all, there are solid foundations for an optimistic prognosis regarding economic cooperation.

Question: You have issued invitations to a meeting for nuclear-free zones in Berlin. What response has this invitation produced so far? What connections do you see with the overall European disarmament negotiations in the framework of the CSCE in Vienna and the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe?

Answer: The invitation to this meeting has met with a powerful response throughout the world. It speaks for itself that already more than 800 representatives of governments, parliaments, parties, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, church communities, peace movements, scientists, and artists, from more than 100 countries, have agreed to come. Seventy-seven governments have announced they are sending official representatives.

The international forum in Berlin will bring together official and social representatives of the most varied political beliefs, immediately after the Moscow summit, to discuss ways of limiting and eliminating the nuclear potentials which threaten mankind. In Europe, where the two most powerful military coalitions face one another, there is a special need in this respect. Freedom from nuclear weapons at the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO could tangibly reduce the direct threat to the common European house from tactical nuclear weapons, and from the numerous theater weapons. Not only nuclear weapons would be removed—deep, reciprocal cuts in the conventional area would also be made. A zone of continuous and comprehensive controls, observation, and inspections would be created.

Just the few points I have listed prove what a great positive influence can derive from it for overall European negotiations. It is thus worthwhile for all to sound out seriously the possibilities of regional freedom from nuclear weapons.

Question: The withdrawal of Soviet intermediate-range missiles from the GDR was concluded in mid-March, ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, thoughts have also been aired that the USSR could drastically reduce its troops in the Warsaw Pact countries. Are these thoughts well-founded, as far as the GDR is concerned, and will there possibly be a reduction in the numbers of Soviet troops in the GDR this year or next? How will relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union, and with the other socialist countries, take shape against the backdrop of increasing progress in disarmament and detente?

Answer: You rightly refer to the early withdrawal of the OTR-22 missiles from the territory of the GDR. Moreover, one of the former missile bases will be turned into a trade union holiday home. All necessary conditions are being created for monitoring by U.S. inspectors on our country's territory, which is expected to take place after the intermediate-range agreement comes into force. As you can see, we are also in favor of rapid action and visible results on the practical side of disarmament, too.

I would like to remind you that in 1980 some 20,000 Soviet troops with 1,000 tanks and other combat equipment were unilaterally withdrawn from the GDR. Our hope that this sign of goodwill would be correspondingly adopted by the other side remains unfulfilled. Under

present conditions there are many possibilities for making progress along the road of reducing military confrontation. If, for example, our proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe were accepted, a practical result would be a reduction in the relevant troops of both military alliances. Of course, this would concern the Soviet troops in the GDR as well as the troops stationed in the FRG.

As is well known, the Warsaw Pact states want to go further. According to their concept, the priority in conventional disarmament in Europe should be to start with a reduction of those weapons specially suited for an offensive, which are part of the military potential on both sides of the line dividing NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This would involve significant reductions of troops in central Europe, of both national troops and troops stationed there. Imbalances could also be eliminated by this approach. As you see, with respect for reciprocity and for equal security, radical changes in the present situation are possible for the benefit of all.

As far as the last part of your question is concerned, there are close relations of friendship and cooperation between the socialist states, which have developed historically. They are based on the same great goal—the building of the socialist society. Socialist economic integration is acquiring ever greater importance. Together our countries are pursuing an active peace policy aimed at disarmament and detente. In such a climate bilateral and multilateral relations can certainly flourish better. This also applies to the development of relations with other states and groups of states.

Question: Through its economic ties with the FRG the GDR has, among the CEMA states, a special relationship with the EC. What is your attitude toward Austrian efforts to draw closer to the EC, or to join it?

Answer: Official relations between CEMA and the EEC will be established soon. The GDR supports this development and has expressed its readiness in this connection to establish official relations with the EC. We assume that mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation is also an important contribution to the creation of a climate of trust and stability in international relations.

The deepening of the international division of labor is an objective process which permeates the trade and economic relations of all states. As far as the development of Austria's relations with the EC is concerned, it is important that Austria's neutrality is not affected by this development, because it is one of Europe's present realities and is an element of its stability and security. Since the signing of the State Treaty in 1955 your country has played an important role in international dialogue. Its efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputed issues and support for disarmament steps are appreciated worldwide.

Question: The neutral and nonaligned states have submitted a draft of a concluding document at the third CSCE follow-up conference. Will the GDR support this paper?

Answer: It is the tradition of the neutral and nonaligned states to assume the often complicated task of coordinator and mediator. This time, too, they again did justice to this task when their foreign ministers submitted the joint draft for a concluding document to the Vienna meeting. We believe that this document deserves serious and constructive examination. On our part, we regard it as possible to successfully conclude soon the work on the final document of the Vienna meeting, on the basis of this draft. Our foreign minister recently stated this at the follow-up conference plenum.

Incidentally, we see possibilities for achieving a qualitatively new level in all the main directions of the Helsinki Final Act, through the final document of the Vienna meeting. Let me explain this briefly.

First, the code of principles of the Final Act is not only affirmed as the basis of stable relations of coexistence and thereby strengthened, but as a result of the new negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and on confidence- and security-building measures, the question of military security is lastingly linked to the CSCE process. Second, over and above political statements of intent on improving the framework of conditions for East-West economic cooperation, the necessary spheres of cooperation for this are expanded, and at the same time follow-up events in the area of the second basket are agreed upon. Third, if the final document meets with the consent of the CSCE states, then—on the basis of respect for the principles and of national legislation—there will be a series of qualitatively new forms and contents of cooperation on human rights and humanitarian questions. As it has to date, the GDR will contribute to the achievement of substantial results, and to the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting through its constructive attitude and readiness to compromise.

Question: Austria's trade with the GDR is beginning—after a muted interim phase—to link up with the high level of 1983 and 1984. Do you see prospects for developing long-term trade so that this level is expanded and setbacks are avoided?

Answer: Our trade with Austria has developed consistently and dynamically. It has been possible to increase foreign trade turnover despite the fact that the expiration of certain major projects has temporarily been making itself felt in the statistics. The determining factor has been and is the trend to develop trade stably, in the long term, and with an emphasis on growth. The lively, business-promoting impetus resulting from the close

economic contacts at a high level, and the lively participation of firms from your country in the Leipzig fairs, speak of this. The opening of branches of Austrian banks in the GDR can also have a positive impact on trade activity.

It would certainly promote the further development of trade if the same competition conditions were made possible in your market for products from the GDR as for products from other countries. In the future, too, I see in mutual efforts the best way to consistently raise the level of trade and economic relations.

In a subsequent talk, the GDR State Council chairman answered additional questions from the journalists. One of these questions related to the GDR's position on restructuring in the Soviet Union. It arose from the internal requirements of the Soviet Union, Erich Honecker replied. Apparently it involves wanting to rectify a certain stagnation of economic life, in order to carry out a socioeconomic acceleration. The GDR's main interest is to support this policy. "And in every state this takes place quite differently. And it is, of course, quite clear that each one must analyze and establish, according to its own capacity, what the next tasks are." In response to an additional question on this topic, the GDR head of state drew attention to the fact "that the first appeal by the KPD on 11 June 1945—I directly experienced the period—stated that we Communists do not have the intention of transferring the Soviet system to Germany." The current developments in the USSR have taken place as a result of Soviet requirements.

"We intend to continue on the proven path: stable prices for basic commodities, stable rents, 80 pfennigs to 1.20 marks per square meter, and stable prices for services, although of course these questions provide us with some headaches, because of price developments in some other countries."

The development of travel between the GDR and Austria is of course closely connected with the financial possibilities, Erich Honecker said when dealing with another topic in the talk. The GDR budget faces heavy demands as a result of travel. "After all, we have annually more than 14 million visitors to the socialist and nonsocialist world. And as our currencies belong to different currency areas, it is of course difficult to find the necessary currency to expand this. This means that we are interested in travel being as free as possible, although there are still some limits to this from a currency viewpoint. I can imagine, however, that in connection with the development of relations between capitals and socialist states, travel will expand not only between Austria and the GDR, but overall."

Another question concerned relations between state and church in the GDR. Erich Honecker replied: "The relations between state and church are good, but not without conflicts." Reports about disruptions to this relationship arise mainly from the fact that groups which in essence had nothing to do with the church attempted to misuse church events for their purposes. In the GDR, incidentally, there is complete freedom of religion.

Asked about the misuse by certain forces of a quotation from Rosa Luxemburg to the effect that freedom of the individual is always the freedom of the person who thinks differently, Erich Honecker said: "Austria has much experience in this area—that people who think differently can be people who do not accept this saying, and who wave the big stick. We have experienced the SA and SS—I myself was in the Kolumbiahaus Concentration Camp; for a time I was imprisoned by the SS Leibstandarte of Adolf Hitler. These were all people who thought differently. So you must allow me to differentiate between people who think normally and people who think differently. Rosa Luxemburg was bestially murdered precisely by 'people who thought differently,' as was Karl Liebknecht. Incidentally, one would be hard put to find the quoted words in the draft of the KPD program, which was prepared by Rosa Luxemburg."

Marjai Interviewed on Trade With the U.S.
*AU1506192888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Jun 88 p 5*

[Interview with Deputy Premier and Minister of Trade Jozsef Marjai by Zsuzsa Gal on the occasion of the Hungarian-U.S. trade talks held in Budapest on 13 June: "It Is in Our Interest To Purchase High-Level Technology and Products"]

[Text] [Gal] This is not your first meeting with U.S. Secretary of Commerce William Verity. Is this meeting of particular importance?

[Marjai] The current meeting is special only in the sense that it coincides with the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Hungarian-U.S. trade agreement. In November, when I visited the United States, we agreed to give a festive, demonstrative, and political character to this meeting. All that has taken place in Hungary since November only stresses the importance of these talks.

[Gal] What did you discuss at the current talks?

[Marjai] First of all, we briefed each other about our situation because this can strengthen mutual confidence without which it is impossible to do business. Confidence is the basis of all business. We also indicated some of our requirements, like the fact that the most-favored-nation clause should not be re-examined annually. If this practice were stopped, this would be a positive signal on the part of U.S. business circles that our relations are stable and thus it would be in the interest of these business circles to think in longer terms. We also requested preferred customs treatment similar to that enjoyed by many other countries, which would lead to our having less disadvantages on U.S. markets. We again proposed signing an interstate agreement on investment protection, and our partners will consider this request. We also asked our U.S. partners to narrow down the list of trade restrictions which is even stricter than the Cocom list and which limits the range of goods that can be exported to Hungary. We were promised that our requests would be treated more flexibly than hitherto.

[Gal] Did you also discuss the possibility of the United States giving an economic assistance plan like the Marshall Plan to the socialist countries?

[Marjai] We did not talk definite terms about such a plan but we did have debates on issues connected with this. In Mr Verity's opinion, Hungary does not need financial capital because it was unable to make enough use of the credits. Hungary needs a system in which it can make use of the available capital more efficiently. I agreed with Mr Verity that we need primarily working capital that brings the technology and know-how necessary to operate this technology. Our foreign debt is in favor and not against this because, in order to remain honest debtors, we need investments and investors who are interested in getting

their money's worth, investors who bring organizational know-how and production discipline, and who also ensure the quality of products and markets for these products.

[Gal] What can the U.S. Department of Commerce do?

[Marjai] In addition to the abovementioned things, it can promote further mixed enterprises. We already have some good examples of this: a joint investment project worth \$100 million for the production of so-called float glass is awaiting final signature. I can also mention here our agreement on the establishment of a 500-person management school in Hungary in the form of a joint Hungarian-U.S. venture, a school which would be supported by seven outstanding U.S. colleges.

[Gal] What demands do our U.S. partners have for us?

[Marjai] They asked us to increase our imports from the United States, and this is a justified demand. We encourage our enterprises to do so because we can purchase high-quality products this way, and, due to the current low exchange rate of the American currency, possibly for better prices than on our traditional markets. However, our enterprises find it difficult to switch to new markets from their customary ones.

[Gal] In your opinion, does the United States have any economic interest in the relatively small Hungarian market, or are its interests primarily political in nature?

[Marjai] Their interests are basically political. However, if Hungary has a favorable image in the United States, the administration will strive to establish good economic relations with us. It is true that Hungary represents a small market, but the U.S. exports are also interested in small markets. In addition, our U.S. partners think that Hungary could be a good preparatory stage for their enterprises in penetrating the CEMA market at the proper time when these countries' internal regulations and conditions enable them to open their markets more widely to U.S. products. U.S. enterprises can gain much experience in Hungary, experience with which they can use to their advantage later in the CEMA market over their competitors who are also trying to penetrate this market.

Hamori Departs for Moscow
*LD1506102388 Budapest MTI in English
0924 GMT 15 Jun 88*

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Csaba Hamori, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union and head of the Hungarian delegation to the Soviet-Hungarian Youth Friendship Festival left for Moscow on Wednesday. On the invitation of the Leninist Komsomol he is to visit Moscow prior to the five-day festival to be opened in Vilnius, June 16.

The 410-strong Hungarian delegation attending the festival left for Vilnius today.

Berecz Receives MOSCOW NEWS Chief

LD1506205088 Budapest MTI in English
1738 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—On Wednesday Editor-in-Chief Yegor Yakovlev conferring in Budapest on the preparations for the Hungarian edition of the political weekly MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI, met Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee. The friendly meeting was attended by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

GDR's Sindermann Continues Official Visit

Holds Talks With Sarlos

LD1406170888 Budapest MTI in English
1625 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—On Tuesday in the Hungarian Parliament Hungarian-GDR negotiations were held. Istvan Sarlos, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament and Horst Sindermann, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the People's Chamber discussed the next meeting of the Parliament chairmen of the socialist countries which is due to be held in Berlin. Istvan Sarlos told the guest that the Hungarian side considers as important and supports the foundation of the parliamentary commission of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Horst Sindermann expounded that in his country a special attention is being paid to the stepping up against nuclear arms and the 50 per cent reduction of the strategic attack weapons. The head of the GDR legislation went in detail on the issue of the coming mutual recognition of the CMEA and EEC which provide new avenues for the development of parliamentary links and direct contacts between the deputies.

Sandor Barcs, the head of the Hungarian group of the inter-parliamentary union also met Horst Sindermann in the Parliament. Sindermann was informed on the preparations into the centenary conference of the IPU due to be held in Budapest, March 1989.

The ambassador of the GDR to Budapest, Karl-Heinz Lugenheim was also present at the meetings.

ADN Report

LD1406232988 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1824 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, 14 Jun (ADN)—Istvan Sarlos and Horst Sindermann, presidents of the Parliaments of Hungary and the GDR, held a exchange of views today on the activities of the supreme representative bodies of

their countries in the perfection of socialist democracy. They stressed the increasing significance of people's representative bodies for the solution of the tasks faced by their countries.

In their talks in Budapest the two sides stressed the significance of interparliamentary activities in the intensification of East-West dialogue. They concurred in stating that the peace offensive of the Warsaw Pact states has created favorable conditions for the worldwide fight of the peoples for peace and disarmament. The parliaments of all states, the regional parliamentary organizations as well as the IPU bear an especially great responsibility in the fight for peace.

Meets With Grosz

LD1506204888 Budapest MTI in English
1716 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—On Wednesday Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in the Parliament Horst Sindermann, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Peoples' Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.

The cordial talks were attended by Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly. Present was Karl-Heinz Lugenheim, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary.

Further Report

LD1506194588 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1533 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest 15 Jun (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, People's Chamber president and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, was received in Budapest on Wednesday for a discussion with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and premier. Horst Sindermann conveyed warm greetings from Erich Hon-ecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were equally warmly reciprocated by Karoly Grosz.

The two politicians paid tribute to the high level of relations between the GDR and Hungary. They expressed their conviction that cooperation between the two parties, states, and people will continue to develop successfully on the basis of the March 1977 treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

Departs 15 Jun

LD1506205288 Budapest MTI in English
1756 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—After his official and friendly visit to Hungary Horst Sindermann departed on Wednesday. The president of the People's Chamber of the GDR was seen off by his host Istvan Sarlos, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly at the Ferih-gy Airport.

Cooperation Talks With EEC Under Way
LD1506204988 Budapest MTI in English
1704 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Ferenc Fabian, MTI correspondent in Brussels:

In line with the negotiations and the establishment of relations between the organizations of the EEC and CMEA, there are talks underway between the Western European community and certain CMEA member states, including Hungary, on the establishment of bilateral contacts [words indistinct] cooperation. It is considered the agreement between the two organizations will speed up the bilateral talks.

Leaders of the EEC consider it politically important that the talks between Hungary and the EEC on the commercial and economic cooperation be successfully completed with an agreement as soon as possible. This opinion was also voiced at the Luxembourg session of the EEC foreign ministers.

The foreign ministers heard the report of Willy de Clercq, member of the EEC Commission in charge of external relations and trade policy, on the talks that started between the EEC and Hungary four years ago, [words indistinct] have been official since the EEC foreign ministers authorized the commission in 1987. He briefed the foreign ministers on the results of the talks and the difference of views on the still existing obstacles before goods exchange. The question is whether the EEC is willing to lift, for a specified time (five or ten years), the restrictions currently limiting the export of certain products as Hungary demands referring to its rights deriving from GATT membership.

The foreign ministers expressed their political will to successfully complete the talks with Hungary as soon as possible, and to tackle the difference by mutual understanding and concessions in the interest of the soonest possible conclusion of an agreement on commercial and economic cooperation.

Varkonyi Interviewed Before MSZMP Conference
PM1406130188 Madrid YA in Spanish
20 May 88 p 12

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by Juan Fernando Dorrego; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Dorrego] On the eve of this [MSZMP] conference, could there be a possibility of a change in relations between Hungary and the USSR, and could the 64,000 Soviet troops leave the country?

[Varkonyi] The Soviet military units in our country form part of the balance of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The agreement to be concluded on a lower level of conventional forces in Europe obviously affects

the Soviet forces in East Europe and the actual number of U.S. troops in West Europe. The Soviet Union's stance is that all foreign military bases—both Soviet and U.S.—must be eliminated.

National Consensus [subhead]

[Dorrego] How does the reform process reach this MSZMP conference?

[Varkonyi] The reforms are the driving force of our development. Accordingly, we are constantly attempting to carry out the process of reforms in economic management which started in 1968 and, judging by the experiences achieved, needs to be corrected. At the same time, taking the social situation objectively into account makes it clear that for the success of the economic reform the political institutional and structural system must be developed in such a way that it is able to restore national consensus by enlarging democracy.

[Dorrego] Could this process become a model for the socialist countries?

[Varkonyi] Each socialist country chooses the course and methods of its development, in accordance with its own geographical and historical circumstances, economic conditions, or traditions. There is no model of general characteristics. This does not rule out our taking advantage of others' experiences and even perhaps adopting them, adapting them to local conditions, and employing measures and methods which have produced benefits elsewhere.

Review Structures [subhead]

[Dorrego] Do the reforms represent a change in Hungary and the start of socialist pluralism? In what situation will the party be left?

[Varkonyi] In the first place, I would like to state that the party's leading role prevails in Hungary. The MSZMP is society's leading force. However, the change in society's structure and the fact that demands for quality are coming to the fore in development have created a situation in which the structures and methods which have hitherto asserted this leading role must be reviewed.

[Dorrego] How does Hungary assess the perestroika promoted by the CPSU general secretary? Is it believed to be an irreversible course?

[Varkonyi] Hungary began the restructuring, the reform of the economy, 20 years ago. Perestroika and the Hungarian reformist endeavor point in the same direction: The aims are shared; the methods—taking the peculiarities into account—are, of course, different. Both the Soviet and Hungarian experiences have shown that economic development does not satisfy either domestic or external demands without a radical change

in the system of economic management. Perestroyka creates a favorable climate for the constant progress of the Hungarian reform. On this basis it is understandable that we fully support the Soviet program of transformation.

Relations With Romania [subhead]

[Dorrego] What is the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania? Is there a deterioration in relations with Romania? Could it even come to a military conflict?

[Varkonyi] The Hungarians living beyond our borders form part of the nation; therefore, Hungarian policy feels responsible for them in all circumstances, and criticizes with proper firmness discrimination against them and attempts to assimilate them by force. We regard the way minorities are treated as an important reflection of respect for human rights and as an indicator on the democratic scale, and we reject any accusation which seeks to present the problem as a matter of territory. As for respect for minorities' rights, we respect in all circumstances the provisions of the relevant international documents. We deem it our aim and duty to secure guarantees reassuringly enforcing minorities' rights, both in our bilateral relations and in the framework of the overall European process and of other international forums. We regard the Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries as links and not as factors of separation. We would like this to be the situation in Romania, too, because we wish to expand our relations in all aspects of life.

No to Reappraisal of History [subhead]

[Dorrego] Is it possible that the reform process in Hungary could go so far as a reappraisal of history and the rehabilitation of Nagy?

[Varkonyi] The reform process in Hungary means that in the life of the economy and society, following thorough consideration of the hard-won experiences, we conduct most of our affairs differently from in the past. The reform—that is, the reform program—is the blueprint for action. With the reform we do not disown the past, or its results, or even its mistakes. We change the present in order to influence actively the future, which is only barely perceptible in outline. So the reform process is in no way a reappraisal of history. However, in the case of Imre Nagy, the court took into account the facts which were also known to the whole of the public in the country. Rehabilitation is also a legal matter; evidence concerning the facts is needed. In the case of Imre Nagy we have no knowledge of such evidence.

[Dorrego] Are there tensions in the party like those which exist in the CPSU between reformists and sections of the old guard?

[Varkonyi] There are tensions in our party as a result of the diversity of opinions on the situation in the country and of the choice between the possible courses for our economic and social progress, but we believe that these tensions are not only desirable but clearly useful, because they can be turned into steps forward, and this is necessary both in the country's leadership and in the smallest of its production units, too. We wish to enlarge and fundamentally enhance democracy in the party and in the country. Even more, we expect positive tensions and their toleration and resolution, in such a way that they manifest themselves in creative actions, to be the increasingly firm characteristics of public life in Hungary in the future. To this extent there are similarities in this respect between the CPSU's situation and that of the MSZMP.

[Dorrego] How are the problems of the economic reforms in Poland viewed in Hungary? To what extent are these problems connected with the greater relationship existing today between socialist and capitalist economies in Europe?

[Varkonyi] As I have said, as far as the reforms are concerned, there is not and cannot be a model of general validity. The problems are also specific to each country; they should be tackled individually and specifically. We are following closely and with interest the search which our Polish friends are conducting in order to see what specific kinds of solution they will find to the specific problems. Of course, we are glad that Poland should resolve successfully, if possible, as many as possible of the problems worrying it. We are certain that our Polish friends are also following our efforts with the same attention.

Kadar's Replacement [subhead]

[Dorrego] Could a generation problem arise in Hungary? Are there sectors which have asserted the need for Janos Kadar's replacement? Could this situation represent a setback for the country's political evolution?

[Varkonyi] Cooperation between generations, the aging of some and closing of ranks by other, younger generations, which carry an increasingly heavy burden, are the constant characteristics of every society. Replacement is always a process everywhere; it cannot be linked to one point or another in time. In Hungary, the generation born after the war is the backbone of those carrying the whole burden. Nowadays, all society's important institutions are setting the goal of causing the younger generations also to take part to an increasing extent in the performance of tasks which require increasingly high personal standards in leadership activities. The Hungarian people regard Janos Kadar as a historic personality. The policy which has borne his name for 3 decades is a policy of continuity and constant capacity for renewal, and this survives and continues under his personal leadership, as long as he is able to exercise it, and also afterward.

Priest on Plight of Refugees From Romania
*AU1506172888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 10 Jun 88 p 5*

[Interview with Geza Nemeth, pastor of the Budapest Ecumenical Reconciliation Association, by Tibor Franka: "Refugees from Romania Send Letters to Gorbachev and Reagan—Audience in Washington"—date and place not given]

[Text] Hungarian authorities have granted temporary residence permits to almost 5,000 Hungarian, German, and Romanian nationals from Romania who settled in Hungary. The reason for the wave of resettlement that began in the fall of 1987 is the political and economic situation prevailing in Romania, a situation that has become particularly intolerable for the national minorities living in Romania. Although they do not encourage resettlement, Hungarian authorities, churches, and the population have been helping these refugees obtain food, clothes, housing, and work. The Budapest Ecumenical Reconciliation Association, for example, has been receiving, guiding, and helping refugees from Transylvania since the late fall of 1987. The pastor of this association was the guest of six U.S. churches some weeks ago, and he was also granted an audience by the Human Rights Caucus of the U.S. Congress in Washington D.C. on 24 May.

[Franka] At the events organized by these congregations, you gave a series of lectures on the plight of Hungarians, Germans, and Romanians who fled to Hungary. What did you discuss and what did the Human Rights Caucus want to know?

[Nemeth] I had only one purpose: To present a letter signed by some 200 refugees from Transylvania following a church service in Rakosszentmihaly, a letter they sent to Gorbachev and Reagan and in which they appeal for help in their attempts to be reunited with their families.

[Franka] Do you have a copy of this letter?

[Nemeth] Yes, I do.

[Franka] Please, tell our readers about it.

[Nemeth] "Esteemed highest officials! The undersigned are turning to you with a request for help, Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin who fled to Hungary, have our families join us as soon as possible. We do not want to travel to Western countries and increase the number of refugees there, but, due to our intolerable persecution as national minorities, we can no longer live in Romania. At the same time, we follow with great confidence your

joint efforts for world peace and human rights. It would be an exemplary event for the whole world if you two took a joint and successful stand supporting this small nation. Thousands of orphans and separated families are praying for you and waiting for your help."

[Franka] Approximately how many family members remained in Romania?

[Nemeth] According to our estimate, close to 2,000. I spoke primarily on behalf of these 2,000 children and adults who want to be reunited with their families as soon as possible.

[Franka] What was the reaction to the Hungarian position that human rights should be guaranteed to everyone primarily in their homeland, that we do not encourage the resettlement of these refugees and we do not intend to ask Western countries to give these people emigration rights but will promote the smooth return of these people to Transylvania as soon as the situation in Romania permits it?

[Nemeth] Before I answer that, let me tell you that a U.S. human rights organization asked me to speak about the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania and the issue of refugees from Romania to members of a congressional committee. There were 60 participants, including 12 senators and congressmen at this meeting held in one of the buildings of Congress. To answer your question: These officials reacted with particular appreciation to three factors. One, we are not asking for emigration rights; two, we are not helping these people reach the West; and three, we are providing shelter not only for Hungarians but also for Germans and Romanians in these hard times. As a result this is not only a Hungarian affair but also a general human rights affair. According to U.S. officials, we can count on support from every civilized nation.

[Franka] Present at this congressional hearing were Senators Tom Lantos, Dwyer, Porter, Sikorsky, Dodd, Carl Levin, and Gilman. Also present were the representatives of the Hungarian and Romanian Embassies and of two emigration organizations. Has any position emerged?

[Nemeth] Well, surprisingly enough, a position did emerge. The 20 minutes originally allocated for the hearing turned into 120 minutes. Then, I was invited to Tom Lantos' office where I was given a letter in which the cochairmen of the Human Rights Caucus expressed their understanding for the despair of the refugees and assured us of their efforts to find a quick solution to this problem, together with the members of the Helsinki Committee and Secretary of State George Shultz.

Sejm Session Opens, Working Agenda Set
LD1606085088 Warsaw PAP in English
0755 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June—A two-day meeting of the Sejm started here on June 16. The first point on the agenda was a report of the extraordinary committee on drafts of legal acts on people's councils, including bills on changes in the Constitution, amendments to the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government, amendments to the budget law, changes in some laws which regulate the principles of the functioning of local bodies of state authorities and administration. Also presented will be the Council of State's information on the realization of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government.

Present at the Polish parliament's sitting are Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner. The agenda has been decided to be supplemented with the first reading of a draft on the economic activity with the participation of foreign subjects and of changes in the Commercial Code. Also added has been the point on changes in state posts which will be discussed at the end of the two-day meeting.

Jaruzelski Closing Speech to PZPR CC Plenum
LD1506123788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2130 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski to the PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 14 June—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: The discussions of the plenum are coming to an end. To what extent and how the resolution, the decisions which we have made today will be written into the party's history, will be decided primarily by their specific results. They ought to be visible in a sufficiently short period of time, so that our party in society's eyes does not become guilty of torpor in its imperfect actions. The report of the Politburo and the resolutions of the seventh plenum expressed in anticipation the fundamental dilemmas of the present moment. Permit me, therefore, to limit myself to only several reflections against the backdrop of the lively and interesting discussion, and really against the wider backdrop of the role and the contemporary tasks of the party.

The nation does not have to be fascinated by our internal party problems. The overwhelming majority do not belong to the party. For us, however, it is not a matter of indifference what the normal citizen gains for himself from the discussions of the seventh plenum, whether he finds in them confirmation that the party upholds the side of the working man, understands his concerns, whether he is in favor of its decisions and choices, whether it has a clear conception, will and strength, to be

able to implement consistently the reform course, whether—here I am referring to the remarks of Comrade (?Rakowski)—it manages to reshape self-criticism into action and deeds.

Comrade Romanik rightly reminded us that the Central Committee bears political and moral responsibility to the working class, working people, and the whole nation for the good name of the party, and for its title of leader. Our work can be considered in a variety of ways. But no one can accuse us of dishonesty and boastfulness. We are telling people the truth. We must never depart from this unshakable principle, even if the truth were to be disagreeable and painful. Today our point of departure has to be the honest admission that the state of affairs in our homeland is not as we would want it, not as it should be. All of us, and here I begin with myself, the party, the government, management personnel, and party and public activists, have a sense of responsibility. This is not a question of (?lawyer-style sophistries) but of our party's reputation as a whole. It is a question of it finding and creatively consolidating its place in the dynamic development processes.

An even greater change has to take place in the philosophy of exercising power. The center should no longer, and can no longer, deal with everything. That is an objective necessity. It is a fundamental condition of the effectiveness of our policy. The building in which we are holding our proceedings is large, but it is not large enough for all Poland to fit inside it.

There are still quite a few comrades at individual levels who make various noises of dissatisfaction which are, however, directed as far away from themselves as possible. Meanwhile, operations found by militia generals uncover, almost under the noses of secretaries and voivodas, chairmen, directors, and heads, affairs about which one is almost ashamed to read in the press. Or, for example, when there is a shortage of bread in Warsaw and the herring diminish on the coast, an appropriate item is added to the proceedings agendas of the PPR Government.

Perhaps soon the general staff will have to bake bread and the Polish Academy of Sciences will have to concern itself with the transportation of herring. That is a bitter joke, but unfortunately a justified one. The circulation of blood in the party must be permeable. The ability to carry on polemics in one's own ranks is still fragile, on a horizontal plane; for we cannot complain about a lack of vertical discussion, addressed from below to above and vice versa. There is too little principled dispute in our forum too; and nobody is saying, after all, that members of the Central Committee agree with one another on everything, without exception. In private conversations, in the lobbies, there are varied assessments of the situation in individual branches or professions; but this very rarely done from the rostrum. This (?sometimes) gives the impression that, seemingly, a gentlemen's agreement has been concluded in the central party echelon: The

farmer does not criticize the miner; the railwayman, the professor; the voivodship committee secretary, the minister. It's hard to understand why this is so.

In the discussion, comrade [name indistinct] touched on the (?state) of working people's frame of mind. It is not exclusively linked just with the prices and wages ratio. How much unnecessary suffering, how much wasted time there is in our country! The organization of public life was never our strong point. Polish regional councils were once the laughing-stock of Europe. The last prewar premier [Felicjan Skladkowski-Slawoj] was memorable for the campaign (?to build fences) and [word indistinct] in the countryside; and (?this trails after us). I sometimes wonder what other lessons we still need, to finally discover the immortal truth that a broom is for sweeping, but it takes a person to put it to use.

Poland is changing and with it the party, but conversely, the country is changing as far as the processes of democratization within our ranks proceed. The style of work, the party's structures, and instances are being renewed. We are creating in the march a new model of party leadership, which thinks boldly, in opposition to the previous period. It is enough to read the protocols of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee for the last 10 years or more to find out the qualitative and irrevocable changes in the pulse of the internal life of the party.

That is a subject above all for comrades from the Academy of Social Sciences. The working people are not interested in the fact that we are changing but to what extent we have changed, not that which we declare but only that which we can show in black and white as an authentic achievement here, now, today. We are not a party, which like a flower that blooms for one night, blossoms once every several years during the electoral campaign, giving out a pleasant smell at the same time. We are a Marxist-Leninist party, present at every section of public life. That is why, whether it is convenient for us or not, in the eyes of public opinion, we all take part in the elections on what, in fact, is a daily basis, as it is not a constitutional regulation, but exclusively practice the effectiveness of action that prejudice whether the party is really fulfilling its leading role.

This is of enormous significance, particularly today, as the scale of challenges requires increased support and the activity of the whole of society. We owe sincere recognition to our rank-and-file party members, our comrades in the forefront of the sociopolitical battle who rarely make speeches but disseminate the party's ideas, infantry escorting the first sociopolitical line, which rarely makes speeches, but disseminates the party's ideas, its arguments, and justifications at places of work, among closest colleagues and friends. It is they who are nucleus of the party, its fundamental strength, reserve, and potential.

Comrades, the credit of public trust is not endless. Time has become the most scarce among national resources. We cannot squander it. We will not spare ourselves severe criticism. The politburo report judged the sources of delays harshly and pointed out our instances of negligence.

Criticism cannot become demagoguery, because then it does not heal but harms. We remember the golden years of Polish athletics, but our best runners of those years did not get off the blocks because of a weight attached to their foot. Today some people are expecting Poland to overtake the competitors on the track, or at least stay among the front-runners, with balls of lead tied to both legs, as well as on their backs. The results of restructuring in the economy cannot and will not be visible at once. It took many decades for the most highly developed capitalist countries to free themselves of the gravest diseases of their system, including common poverty. Some, such as the Norwegians and the Irish, drove out of their homelands nearly half of their poorest people.

In conditions of grave imbalance, even the best mechanism cannot operate efficiently. It develops cracks, through which some of the reform substance leaks out. There are people who can even legally make use of it with benefit to themselves and damage to others. Only persistent correction of perceived shortcomings, harsh economic discipline, and strict enforcement of regulations can adjust that mechanism to current requirements. Poland needs advancement, above all in thinking. Even the most efficient machine is of no use if it is operated by people who uphold the tradition of extending their weekend into Monday. Even a successful and ingenious design is not much use if it is no more reliable and uses less energy than a similar product of the previous generation. Even the most numerous discussion clubs are not going to become a bridgehead of advancement if, like at a spiritualist seance, they are mainly going to engage in calling up spirits.

The contemporary world is pulsating with profound and sometimes astonishing transformations. The dynamics of the new thinking not only makes the danger of a global conflict recede, but it defines the horizon of a great opening-up. It destroys the moldy stereotypes. Many of the solutions and values of socialism have become universalized and become an integral part of general civilization. In turn, our system, while fully retaining its distinctive systemic character, adapts, in the course of its evolution, instruments and methods that broaden its possibilities and facilitate progress.

This includes the so-called economic coercion, which for years we used to ascribe exclusively to that other, antagonistic formation. At the same time, we do not want and we must not lose a single one of those values which decide on the essence and nature of socialism. Sometimes it is also worth listening more carefully to people who denigrate the system from morning to night; but let us try to ask if they are inclined to relinquish the social

guarantees that socialism creates. No, they will not give away a single button, no branch cards and privileges, no benefits, no social rights. And what would they say to this: that industrialists in the West are not concerned about the employees' private affairs such as, for instance, how many children they have?

How easily some people cross out socialist Poland's historic advance, at the same time blowing the dust off the clumsy imitations from the past. Socialism gave Poland a regained statehood, safe frontiers, a developmental lever. It brought first and foremost social justice on a scale never before known. It is our cause to consolidate those achievements, to adapt them more fully to the difficult demands of the present day. Comrades, in the process of implementing economic transformations, the party assumes a dual role.

On the one hand, it is the initiator and the main political guarantor of the reform, which, being introduced in conditions as difficult as ours, requires high discipline, a sense of responsibility, and often simply moral courage. The directors, party organizations, self-managed concerns, work force, and all those that have taken up the challenge and who are not seeking easy ways have to be certain that they can count on our assistance and support. On the other hand, the party has to take into consideration the objective needs of those social and vocational groups, which are not going to be the first to profit from the positive effects of the reform. A significant number of labor veterans are in a difficult situation. Also, among the young generation, life's aspirations sharply clash with reality.

Independence and responsibility come in equal measure. Sometimes our party has to be on the side of the work force, against management, when the latter treats the working people in an imperious manner. Other times we have to be on management's side, against those to whom everything is due. Sometimes we have to demand assistance for the people who are weaker and to whom life has been unfair. Other times we have the courage to be firm with these who are crafty with their sick-leave forms and nibble at the social fund. The times are such that they require hard and resilient people, inclined toward compromise, but unyielding where there is no and can be no room for compromise, knowing how to admit errors with courage and honesty, but no making a habit of retreating in panic. Panicky reaction are sometimes manifested even in our party ranks. If we lose this or that clash, does it mean that the course of the whole operation becomes doubtful? The party cannot get into complexes of infallibility and complacency on the one hand and failure, bad luck, and adversity on the other.

We have discussed at the plenum the extensive range of national accord problems. Our appraisals were not prematurely triumphant. We are fully aware of the residue of distrust and doubt in parts of the society and in various communities.

Comrades, a few more remarks about personnel problems. In public perception, confirmed by extensive research, the situation in that field is still not good. After all, taking up managerial office is linked to the right to decide for others and about others. The public, especially in the East, had numerous causes to view personnel practice with suspicion. That is understandable. The prolonged lack of democratic habits makes itself felt: a good head is one that allocates me a tractor, even if it does so by wronging my neighbour; a bad viovoda is one that does not take my demands into account, even if they are unrealistic and wrong. There is also the other side—when the whims of some princeling are presented almost as the will of the entire party. Such decisions and actions add up to our loss account. We have to learn a new approach to personnel policy, and especially, respect for its results attained through democratic procedures. Furthermore, if we expect changes from others, we have to change ourselves too. A party activist has to be a politician. His name has to be associated not so much with the office, opening ceremonies, unveilings, or presidia in which he sits, but first and foremost, with conceptions that citizens understand, especially on their home ground, with directness in contacts with people and with the new style of work.

Internal differences of opinion do not represent a threat to the party. We have spoken many times about this. What does represent a threat is formal unity, beneath which the so-called inside set-ups seethe. What represents an even greater threat are proper resolutions that remain on paper.

Comrades, finally I would briefly like to comment on the next political campaign—the approaching elections to people's councils. The essence of the problem is exhausted by the old, sound proverb: As they sow, so let them reap. I am using this party platform to address the nonparty citizens. We are all involved in the affairs of the homeland. There is no divergence between the party objectives and the interests of the whole nation. It is not a party card that decides about the man's and citizen's character. The wider the coalitionary nature of government is, the better it is. Today valuable ideas, realism, will to act, and especially patriotic deed represent a white-and-red licence for everyone, who wants and knows how to make use of it. Our nation's modern history can be compared to a mighty river swelled by tributaries on both sides. Some of these carry water rich in oxygen, others carry poisoned water, full of putrefactive bacteria, but it is never the case that all the tributaries on one side are crystal-clear and all those on the other are filthy and silted. However, every river flows to its estuary, its destination. We regard a socialist vision of the future, a strong, affluent, and just Poland as such a destination.

Comrades, we know what has to be done and we know that it has to be done. The next few weeks and months are going to decide how much closer we are after the

present plenary session to an answer to the question of how it is to be done. The plenum resolutions precisely define the tasks we face. These can be formulated briefly, even in the slogan form:

Close relations between high economic efficiency and broadly interpreted social justice are the main objective of our actions.

The most urgent thing today is the struggle against inflation, for a better market and for economic equilibrium.

Scientific and technical progress is the mainspring of development.

The party is in the vanguard of the process of renewal.

Accord for reforms, for Poland's future.

More trust in the people is more trust in the party.

Socialism is close to young people.

More democracy and more discipline.

The best personnel is indeed best.

Strong people's councils are true masters. We shall vote for that kind of council. [applause]

Abridged PZPR Plenum Resolution Released
LD1606083888 Warsaw PAP in English
0010 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—Published today, the resolution of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), which discussed party's tasks in continuation of reforms of the economy and the state and in personnel policy, read, in part:

The PUWP Central Committee confirms its political readiness to continue socialist renewal in all domains of our country's life.

The pursuit of the line of socialist renewal liberated paramount processes and significantly changed the face of our country. Nonetheless, the achieved fails to meet numerous expectations of the working people and can in no way be satisfying. In the recent period, positive trends grew weaker, while they even underwent distortions as far as material conditions of living were concerned.

Not completely overcome, division of society exerts halting pressure. Layers of pessimism and distrust continue to exist. Attempts to evoke political tension and to undermine public order are being renewed.

Subjective weaknesses and errors occurred when pursuing the line of reforms. Works on specification of the tenets of the second stage of economic reform were carried in too slow a manner. Methods and means of balancing the market and of curbing inflation turned out to be not effective enough.

Overcoming of limitations and weaknesses as well as of anything that slows down the dynamics and effectiveness of reforms requires from the party and its allies to increase their efforts and from all patriotic social forces to unite in transforming the economy and the state. Poland needs a broad, all-national reform-oriented coalition.

There is enough room in the coalition for all active citizens, for groups and environs which understand the necessity of reforms and which are not guided by the slogan "The worse, the better."

The party will oppose with determination attempts to disturb or to slow down reforms, irrespective of whether they are born under the banners of anti-systemic demagoguery and destruction, or whether they result from conservative bureaucratism, group-interest lobbying or dogmatic images of socialism.

As a key question the Central Committee views a marked increase in the effectiveness of the second stage of the economic reform and making a regrouping of forces and means in economic policy, concerted with the reform. This target should be promoted by activities taken in three time horizons: the immediate, two-year and long-range.

1. The principal goal for the immediate future is to achieve the effects in manufacture, on the consumer market and in services which are most expected by society. The Central Committee views faster balancing of successive segments of the market as the most important.

The Central Committee comes out in favour of establishment of a permanent social-state commission for price and income policy. It should create a broad platform of agreeing upon the premises of the price-income policy and aim at the departure from leap to floating changes of the level and structure of prices.

Towards the end of the year the Central Committee will evaluate the results of implementation of the second stage of the reform and the effects of the making use by the government of the extraordinary powers together with motions meant to increase the effectiveness of the systemic solutions and changes in the economic policy.

2. The Central Committee recognizes as necessary for the government to present to the Sejm during the third quarter of this year a correction to the national social and economic plan for the years 1989-90. It should

include a reshuffle of investment means forcing necessary structural changes in the economy, acceleration of the elimination of least efficient enterprises, faster progress in the demonopolization of the economy.

3. The Central Committee recognizes as indispensable the acceleration of work on drafting the next five-year plan and the long-term plan. These plans must outline, in accordance with the provisions of the PUWP programme, the way towards faster embarking of the Polish economy on the road of intensive development. The key task is to start a deep and visible change of the structure of the economy and production especially through:

- Distinct preferences for ventures guaranteeing the increase of efficiency,

- Outpacing developing of production branches decisive for the advanced nature of entire economy,

- Better adjustment of the structure of production to social needs.

The assumptions of the plans to the year 1995 and to the year 2000 should be presented during the national conference of PUWP delegates.

4. The Central Committee expects that the government, in agreement with trade unions, will present to the national conference of delegates proposals of a system of social benefits consistent with the requirements of the reform and justice and such as would not weaken motivation for work and would clearly direct support to those who are in real need of it.

The Central Committee declares itself in favour of determined continuation of transformations which were outlined by the 6th plenum and which are aimed at development of the democratic quality of our political system.

The most important tasks at the moment in development of Polish political system are the following:

1. Consolidation of Sejm's superior role in the state. As early as during the present tenure of the Sejm, the Central Committee assisted by the PUWP deputies' caucus will consider at a plenary meeting problems related to PUWP deputies' activities.

2. Consolidation of constitutional, and first of all self-governing, functions of people's councils by means of ensuring superiority with regard to state administration bodies and expansion of their economic autonomy.

3. Enrichment of the way authority is exercised by means of developing the formula of coalition between the PUWP, the United Peasants' Party (UPP) and the Democratic Party (DP), by collaboration with these parties with associations of lay Catholics and Christians as well as with other partners from within the Patriotic Movement

for National Rebirth (PRON), and also with environs which remain outside the PRON, but which are willing to participate in reforms and reconciliation.

Related to this is also a possibility of achieving an organizationally higher level of political representation by environs proceeding from the social teaching of the church and disposed constructively towards the socialist state.

4. Development of the formula of national reconciliation, including fuller reflection of Polish socialist pluralism, dialogue and reconciliation in new legislation and in the praxis of association movement, in operation of mass media, publishing houses, in expansion of environmental representativeness of professional organizations, and the like.

The Central Committee proceeds from the principle that ongoing in our country comprehensive and far-reaching transformations should find a reflection in a new constitution. The committee appeals to the Council of State to commence works on a draft of a new constitution and to carry them in keeping with the requirements of openness of search for solutions and broad dialogue as well as in the spirit of national reconciliation and socialist system of coalition.

Renewal of the party's leading role implies implementation of goals with political methods in keeping with the requirements of democracy, the rule of law, and openness of political life, and according to the principles of coalition system and urbanity of discussion.

In order to accelerate changes in the model of party's leading role compatible with requirements of times, the Central Committee orders consistent execution of personal responsibility from party activists at all levels, starting with the political bureau and ending with the executive of the grassroots basic party organization.

The PUWP personnel policy should ensure such promotion, evaluation and circulation of managerial cadres of the economy, state and party so that they efficiently serve development of the country, better fulfilment of needs of the working people, greater effectiveness of the economy and political system.

1. The party will formulate and pursue the personnel policy in collaboration and coalition with the UPP and the DP as well as with other PRON signatories.

2. Reformation of the state and economy as well as decentralization of prerogatives and obligations related to it justify the need to decentralize personnel decisions.

The Central Committee adopts the following guidelines to this effect:

— Political approval should be relevant only with regard to candidates to strictly defined, key positions in the system of the state, that is:

— Managerial personnel of bodies of authority and state administration,

— Managers of organizational units which serve the system of national defense, protection of legal order, law and public security as well as diplomatic and consular services,

— Managers of economic units which are of special importance to the national economy.

The amended people's councils electoral law established the necessary conditions for the newly-elected councilors to ensure utilization of the opportunities opened by the amended law on the system of people's councils and local self-government.

The Central Committee expresses a conviction that participation in the elections will become a proof of civic support for the process of socialist renewal and a safeguard of electing those candidates who merit superior public confidence.

CC Reform Commission Discusses Draft Economic Law
AU1506182388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 9 Jun 88 p 2

[Jerzy Sieradzinski report: "Removing the Obstacles to Initiative"]

[Text] A meeting of the Central Committee Commission for Economic Policy, Reform, and Worker Self-Management, chaired by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, was held on Wednesday (8 June). The commission familiarized itself with a draft law on economic activity that was recently submitted to the Sejm.

The idea behind the document is based on three basic principles—economic freedom, the equal status of all sectors of the economy under law, and giving concrete form to the provisions of the second stage of the economic reform. This is in keeping with the general concept that "everything that is not prohibited is permitted."

These were the principles to which Dr Jerzy Malkowski, secretary to the Council of Ministers Committee for the Implementation of the Reform, drew attention in the introduction to the debate. The adoption of the law and its subsequent implementation means that more than 100 legal acts of varying degrees of importance would lose their force.

The law is designed to remove all existing obstacles to initiative and economic activity, which should create equal opportunities for competition for all sectors of the economy, accelerate the increase in the supply of goods and services, and aid progress toward greater efficiency.

However, during the debate certain doubts and misgivings were voiced about certain detailed solutions proposed by the law. Some speakers, mainly representatives of large state enterprises, said, for example, that by liberalizing the regulations on starting up economic activity, the law could increase cadre problems in their plants. There was also criticism of the excessively detailed character of some regulations.

The view that definitely predominated was that the proposed solutions introduce a qualitatively new element into our economic legislation. Many of the speakers described the document as an "economic constitution" and a "fundamental act of the Polish reform." It was concluded that the law provides an appropriate solution to the problem of limiting employment in units of the non-socialized economy to 50 persons during one shift. While accepting this ceiling, in line with the provisions of the historic act on nationalization, an opportunity is also created for increasing employment in forms of economic activity that are deemed socially desirable. In addition, this ceiling would not apply if a private company were to decide to go into partnership with a unit of the socialized economy.

It was agreed that an important condition for the attainment of the positive results that the law is expected to produce and a genuine increase in economic activity is the consistent introduction of many further changes in the economic and financial system envisaged by the program for the implementation of the second stage of the reform. It is largely a question of simplifying and stabilizing taxation principles for all sectors of the economy and preventing unjustified income disparities. Work on the reorganization of the taxation system is particularly important in this respect. It was deemed particularly important to speed up the work that is being done and to introduce the changes at the same time as the new law comes into force.

The draft law received resolute support from the commission. Marian Wozniak proposed that the commission should meet to discuss the draft law once again when Sejm work on it has reached a more advanced stage.

Transcript of Urban's 7 Jun Press Conference
AU1506060188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 8 Jun 88 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference for domestic and foreign journalists at the Warsaw Interpress Center on 7 June]

[Text] J. Urban opened the conference with the following statement: Please study W. Jaruzelski's message to the third UN special session on disarmament. The message

is yet another effort to help increase security and to reduce armaments in central Europe. This effort was made after the Moscow summit, which has created better prospects for disarmament activities. We think that as far as possible every country should take action in order to increase the peace opportunities which were strengthened in Moscow. Poland has just done this in line with its foreign policy traditions.

We think that Premier Z. Messner's visit to China is proceeding most favorably. We can already state that it will produce further progress in cooperation, to which Poland attaches great importance. It is still too early to provide a more substantial appraisal.

By its decision of 25 March, the U.S. House of Representatives increased the funds for its Solidarity people from \$1 to \$2 million. I think that the additional \$1 million is a payment for strikes.

A smaller issue: Last week I said that our exchange of views represented by Messrs Bugaj and Wielowieyski and their adherents did not take place. I was astounded to read an AP report that Ryszard Bugaj announced that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was not obliged to publish government views, because the government has enough other gazettes at its disposal. On the other hand, UPI reported that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY refused to publish the opposition's and the government's articles on the economic reform and that Editor Kozlowski from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY said: "It is better for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY to publish its own articles."

I hope I have supplied you with a clear description of events. I think that someone is interested in obscuring the issue. I declare that I have never proposed that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY should publish a statement about the government's position. My proposal was: TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY should only publish a statement about its own position, signed by Ryszard Bugaj and Andrzej Wielowieyski, that POLITYKA should publish that statement, and that only POLITYKA should carry our response at the same time.

What was required was Mr Kozlowski's and Mr Bugaj's agreement that POLITYKA should simultaneously carry Bugaj's and Wielowieyski's opposition platform, that is, their article and nothing else! It is not right that those who preach ethical behavior and truthfulness should engage in public manipulations. It is not right for U.S. press agencies not to take notice of what the government spokesman has to say in this connection. I expect that explanations will be made and that untruths will be corrected.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: Writers professing various views had an interesting meeting in Krakow and spoke of the need to revive the PEN club. RZECZPOSPOLITA has published a letter on this subject, signed by writers. What is the obstacle to reviving that club?

J. Urban: The letter was signed by writers professing most varied political views. Their joint action is significant, and I think that it shows that the literary community continues to rid itself of animosities, prejudices, and divisions.

The State Council Chancellery will invite not only the signatories of that letter, but also about one-third PEN club members who for various reasons did not sign the letter to attend a meeting to search for joint solutions. The two sides' resolve to revive the PEN club will help unite PEN club members with the authorities in this search. All we have to do is to find a way of ensuring that the revived club respects the law, lawful events, and the self-government of writers. We should also ensure that the future activity of the club serves the universal and not unilateral and restricted relations and contacts between Polish literature and world literature.

Leonid Toporkov, IZVESTIYA: Please comment on Vice Premier Szalajda's Moscow visit.

J. Urban: I will supplement press reports. The sides have coordinated all items of the accord on the joint production of a small truck, which will replace the Polish Nysa and Zuk trucks. The accord will be signed in July. Another accord concerns a joint plant in Ostrzeszow, which will produce electromagnetic clutches.

A first step was taken to demolish the main barriers to economic cooperation within CEMA. It was agreed that the cooperating Polish and Soviet enterprises will adopt new principles of fixing prices, which will be free and contracted prices based on world prices. Accounts will be settled in national and not convertible currencies. For example, Polish enterprises will not barter, as at present, their supplies of machines, materials, technological documents, and so on. They will be paid in rubles, for which they will be able to buy whatever is possible to buy under the existing mutual market conditions. This means that money will become really money.

Although this accord applies to directly cooperating enterprises, it will pave the road to solutions that can be the general rule of relations among CEMA countries. Such partial steps can prove to be better than discussions over many years on how to depart from interstate accords that stipulate the terms of barter.

The sides also agreed to organize mutual trade fairs, at which goods can be sold freely.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: I wish to refer to a matter ? raised by AP Editor Daniszewski. A month ago you said that the government would welcome an anticrisis pact and you mentioned who could not belong to such a pact. You also said that a certain journalist who did not subscribe to such a pact. What positive steps were taken toward such a pact? What specific talks were held with anyone on this subject? Will this pact become a real thing or will it be just another mirage?

J. Urban: An anticrisis pact is to us an accord in favor of our reforms. This accord should have the most extensive social backing and not just the backing of a few officials. We are open to talks with all persons and groups of persons who want to intellectually cooperate in the area of the economy or policy to ensure that our reforms are successful. Such persons and groups of persons do not have to enjoy any extensive support of society, but they must respect the law and the Constitution.

Present attempts to create such a pact have failed. I told you that Vice Premier Sadowski's proposal to meet with such people has not materialized, because some of those who could be considered committed themselves to strikes instead of taking interest in improving our economic situation. I told you about the proposal to exchange views, to publicly exchange views in the press. This proposal has also failed, and the fault is not ours. No talks are being held at this moment, but this does not mean that no efforts are being made to rally people around the reforms. I think that a general dialogue will acquire momentum and will be expressed in new forms. As for the West's representatives, they are interested in more detailed issues such as who is talking with whom and who wants or does not want to talk with certain persons. It is here that Lech Walesa takes over as a symbolic name, but the thing is that we still do not know who Walesa actually is. We continue to repeat the rule that it is not important for us from where one comes to us, but the commitments with which Lech Walesa is now presenting himself make eventual talks difficult. By calling for strikes and for boycotting the coming elections, some persons isolate themselves not only from talks, but also from most of our people. They also become less credible as partners to promote reforms. Only Lech Walesa can answer the question whether he is a partner in talks concerning the implementation of the reform in Poland. I think that even a single week would do, during which Lech Walesa would not make public statements that contradict each other. We have a day without cigarette smoking, and I think it would be useful to have a week during which Lech Walesa would not contradict himself.

In his interview for AFP on 3 May, Lech Walesa said that there should be no strikes and protest actions so as not to hinder economic reforms. But soon after that he said that the government might perhaps offer his supporters election vacancies under the condition that they maintain calm, but that calm is not their purpose. In another statement to the press, Mr Walesa said that he wants to talk from the position of the leader of strikers. What line does Mr Walesa really represent? As his advisor, I would tell him to stop talking altogether for some time. But I am not his advisor. But I try to show you how difficult it is to find partners for the talks you have asked about—partners from among the persons who are especially known in the West. Perhaps it is not such talks that can help improve the moods of people and boost one's determination to implement the reforms.

Matti Hovise, KANSAN UNTISET, Finland: A report by the African National Congress states that some Poles are serving in the South African Army. Does the Polish Government know how many citizens of Polish origin are serving in that Army and from which third country most of them come to South Africa?

My second question: What is the number of the Poles emigrating to various Western countries? Which is the country to which Poles continue to emigrate most often?

J. Urban: I know nothing about Poles serving in the South African Army. You are the first to tell me this. If true, this would be most regrettable and would bring shame on us. But the term of "persons of Polish origin" has much more extensive and liberal implications. There is simply no army operating against various people in the world that does not contain persons of Polish origin. Some Poles do emigrate to South Africa from Western Europe.

I am hard put to answer your second question, because persons emigrating from Poland use many West European countries as temporary bases, from which they try to emigrate to other countries mostly outside Europe. But most Polish emigrants, including temporary ones, can be found in the FRG.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: I wish to follow in Andrew Tarnowski's footsteps. You have often said that potential partners for talks about the reform and other issues must respect the law and the Constitution. Some laws are very broad in their meaning. For example, Article 282 of the Penal Code concerning antistate actions and public disorder allows of many interpretations. One interpretation can be that any attempt to organize demonstrations or to express one's disagreement with the authorities may be considered as a crime. Do you think that withdrawing such laws and making them more precise would help to greatly expand the platform of accord and to greatly increase the number of potential partners for talks?

J. Urban: I would not link the issue of accord to a single legal regulation. It is only natural that each citizen should respect the law and that activities outside the law do not create a platform for cooperation between the authorities and citizens who are prone to breaking the law. It is true that disturbing public order is a very extensive legal notion, but the ways in which this disturbance can be effected are so numerous that it is difficult to list them. For example, he who sings loudly in the street at night disturbs the peace, even if his singing has no political meaning.

Like most countries, we stick to the principle that before one organizes a demonstration one must obtain permission from the proper administrative authorities. I think that what you say is a question of practice rather than of law. It is a question of the extent to which such permissions are granted.

All I can say here is that the more constructive cooperation there is, the more rapid the evolution of the laws and of the practice that increases political freedoms and democratization can be. And the more irresponsible actions to violate the laws take place, the fewer opportunities for agreement are available.

As for the article you mention, we do not think that the street is a proper place for any dialogue and political disputes, because street events usually assume a nature no one wishes to experience. In short, streets are not the best place in our country to wage political disputes.

Andrew Wiecko, NEWSWEEK: In connection with the anticrisis pact you said that it may be possible to appoint some new institutions. Does this mean that the authorities have some specific concepts and will propose setting up an organization or body? Any details? Would such a body be like, say, the Consultative Council?

J. Urban: I have nothing specific to say on this, but I can tell you that new initiatives in this connection are possible.

Zouheir Saba'a al-Diyab, AL-BA'TH, Syria: The Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories is continuing, and children, youngsters, women, and old people continue to perish. The Moscow summit did not ignore this issue. The uprising can be regarded as a protest against the occupation. Poland has often wished to help solve this issue. What formula would the Polish Government adopt? Do you think that Israel may withdraw from all the occupied territories and guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland and to set up their own state?

J. Urban: Poland's approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the crux of which is the Palestinian question, has not changed. Let me recall that Poland's stand in this regard was exhaustively presented by Minister M. Orzechowski at his press conference on 11 March 1988, by the many statements I have made, and by Director Staniszewski of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 14 April of this year. The mass media have also discussed this stand in many publications.

We were pleased to note that the Near East problem was tackled during the Moscow summit and that Comrade Gorbachev said that the two superpowers had come closer to settling the conflict. We think that this makes it more likely for an international conference under the United Nations to be convened to discuss the Near East in line with the familiar formula, which the Arab countries also accept. This is the only forum that is able to achieve a just and lasting settlement, which is based on the UN resolutions and which the conference participants accept. We still advocate such a settlement, to which we continue to make a political and military contribution, as attested to by our participation in the UN Peace Forces on the Golan Heights.

We welcome the consolidation of the Arab world's unity, which is especially important for the peace process and which primarily benefits the Palestinian question. The Algiers summit, whose debates we will keenly watch, will tackle this question in the context of the uprising in the occupied territories.

Gemma Aizpitare Heriz-Ere, FLASH PRESS: Please comment on the press reports that it is necessary to set up the office of the PPR president.

J. Urban: This old concept is included in the SD program and will certainly continue to be discussed. No action is being taken in this regard. There may be changes in our Constitution, and the future schedule of activities will include work in this connection. It is hard for me to say whether the issue mentioned by you will be considered during that work.

Patricia Ann Koza, UPI: First of all I would like to correct your quotations from the Polish press. The translation of the UPI article on the simultaneous publication of articles in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and in POLITYKA contains serious errors. Mr Bugaj and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY have never said that they protested against the publication of government articles in their weekly. What they said was that they wanted to publish the Solidarity articles in their weekly before the Paris KULTURA did and that they would appreciate such an opportunity. Anyway, that translation was a complete flop, and that is why your comments do not apply to the crux of the matter, because they are based on an erroneous commentary carried by the Polish press.

I would like to ask a question about yesterday's press conference or rather briefing with Mr Malkowski, who is the government spokesman for the economic reform. He said that reform activities continue to encounter various difficulties, mainly because most work has been done behind closed doors in the past few months. This has been legislative work—devising new laws and decrees—and that is why people could not see any tangible results. But, as Mr Malkowski said, people would like to see something tangible, something the economic reform and reform work have produced in Poland so far.

That is why I would like to ask you whether you could indicate any event in Poland that attests to the realization of the economic reform in the past 8 months—an event that could be seen by people as something tangible and as proof that reform activities are real and not illusory.

J. Urban: Madam, it is with humility that I always acknowledge remarks that a translator is wrong. In such a case I have no counter arguments. Translators do make mistakes, but I must say that they usually make them as if in a given direction only. Still, if someone says that the Polish translation of the UPI report was wrong, I accept this explanation. However, in this case this seems improbable for two reasons. First, the same mistake

occurred in the case of AP. Second, a Polish translator in a Western radio station in Munich or Washington made the same mistake. I cannot remember whether it was Radio Free Europe or VOA. That is why the probability of errors seems very unlikely to me, and the words cited by me are not susceptible to any mistakes in translation.

Your other question concerns the fact that government work has been done behind closed doors, and people were unable to see anything tangible. I would put this in another way. It goes without saying that bills originate behind closed doors, because legislative work is specialist work. However, the principles of bills undergo extensive discussions and were extensively discussed during debates on the entire second stage of the economic reform. The more crucial and less specialist bills, such as bills on economic activities, were or will be publicly discussed.

I do not think that our people were or will be unable to see the bills before they are adopted as laws. I think that you have something else in mind other than reform legislation. You have in mind the results of the reform and you have asked questions about them.

First of all, you must not treat the Polish community as an audience that is waiting for the results of government reforms, because only the Polish community can create these results. I am here and now in possession of the bill on entrepreneurship, which defines the legal limits of freedom of economic activities. These limits are merely legal limits, and if no one applies them in practice, they will be useless.

Second, you ask about events showing that the reform is productive in practice. The press carries various examples showing that there are very many new and old institutions performing on new principles. Indexes show that our exports to the Western countries increased as much as 16 percent in the first quarter of this year. This is certainly a result of the new conditions of performance created by the economic reform and not a result of a sudden burst of traders' energy. Another example: The still few brigades that have been set up by the reform, that fulfill contracted tasks, that have to account for their results, and that are paid contracted wages, have been able to achieve productivity that is by as much as 30 percent higher than that achieved by workers working in line with the old rules. It goes without saying that the wages of these brigades are also higher.

We have very many examples showing that innovation-development firms' performance is effective. However, as we have already stated, it takes 2 or 3 years for the results of this performance to be felt not by those who participate in these new events in the economy, but by the people who shop or the people who work in some traditional sector of the economy. It takes 2 or 3 years for this performance to generally improve the economic situation.

Juergen Vieting, DIE SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Could you tell us the number of new private firms set up in Poland this year and during the first quarter of this year?

J. Urban: I have no data, but if quarterly data is available I will tell you. The term private means little, because the tradesman who works on his own and, say, repairs shoes is a private entrepreneur. Foreign enterprises are private.... There are many applications of the term private.

As for foreign and Polish firms or companies, we hope that their number will increase when the Sejm has passed the law on foreign economic activities in Poland. The period before the adoption of this law hinders the development of such firms and companies, because all the entrepreneurs concerned are waiting to see what the new conditions for their activities will be. They do not want to work under the old conditions.

John Daniszewski, AP: The strike in the Gdansk shipyards ended a month ago. Does the Polish Government think that threats of strikes or of social unrest are over and are a thing of the past? Will the government consult trade unions on price-income policy this year?

J. Urban: It is very difficult to answer your first question. I hope there is no threat of more wildcat strikes. My hope is based on public opinion polls, which continue to show that most people do not see anything good in strikes. Besides, the April-May strikes did not enjoy extensive public support. The analysis of all events shows that in only 30 plants out of many thousands some workers stopped work for an hour or two, attempted partial strikes, and so on. That was all. People realize more and more that only constructive work for the reform can be really productive.

I say yes to your second question. Consultations between the authorities, trade unions, and farmer organizations on price-income policy and living standards will be held in the second half of the year.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Could you tell me whether the government has any view about the planned referendum which is to be held in the Ursus plant and which has been proposed by the workers council?

My second question: Have you any information about the fate of the applications to register the Wielkopolska Economic Society and the Association of Self-Government Activists, which is probably also waiting for registration?

J. Urban: It was not the government that made a decision on the referendum. It was the Ursus manager, because it is his prerogative and not the government's. Invoking Article 43, Item 1 of the law of 25 September 1981 on workers self-management groups, he canceled

the resolution passed by the Ursus Workers Council. His legal argument was that only crucial matters concerning the enterprise—matters that are part of the activities of self-management groups—can be submitted to a referendum, and that what the workers council wanted to submit to a referendum concerned mostly questions that do not involve the participation of workers in plant management. These questions concern matters whose import is wider than the performance and the interests of the plant. They concern the legal order of the state and are settled in the forums other than the plant forum. Moreover, the workers council that wanted to hold that referendum has no power at all to proclaim a referendum, because the law grants such power only to the plant workers council and not to lower level councils.

As for the Economic Society, I have nothing to add to what I said last week, namely, that I was optimistic that such a society might be allowed to legally operate. I was asked at that time about the Economic Society and not about the Wielkopolska Economic Society, the Union of Profit-Making Companies. The head of the Voivodship Social-Administrative Department refused the application for registration, because that society wanted to engage in profit-making, which is against the law. The minister of internal affairs confirmed this refusal on appeal.

Please repeat your second question.

[Bobinski] The Society of Self-Government Activists is still waiting for registration.

[Urban] I know nothing about this matter. I know nothing about this initiative.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: General Jaruzelski will be 65 in July and should retire in line with the retirement regulations for officers of the Polish Armed Forces. Does this mean that Gen Jaruzelski will then cease to be the commander in chief of the Armed Forces in time of war or will an exception be made?

J. Urban: Gen Jaruzelski is commander in chief of the Armed Forces and his status cannot be compared to the status of other service officers. He is chairman of the State Council, and that is why I do not think that his status vis-a-vis the Armed Forces has changed.

When the president of your country—President Reagan—was 65, he did not even begin his term as the commander in chief of your Armed Forces. When he was, say, 75, he was commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UNTISET, Finland: I have heard that for fiscal and economic reasons the Polish Radio and Television Committee intends to abandon broadcasting in foreign languages, including the Finnish language. In the light of what is being said here about Poland's policy vis-a-vis the world and about its interest

in extensively spreading information about it, the decision to abandon broadcasting in foreign languages is strange, to say the least. Any comment?

J. Urban: This decision has not been dictated by our wish to eliminate Poland's radio programs in foreign languages from the international arena. This decision has been dictated by the fact that we have neither the fiscal nor the technological capability to continue to broadcast all the present radio programs in foreign languages. That is why those programs that have less chance to be heard in the countries concerned because our broadcasting equipment is not powerful enough and those programs that not too many people listen to, even if reception is good, will be eliminated. On the other hand, we will maintain and even introduce new foreign language programs, which we are able to operate with the funds we have. This is one of those conflicts between that which we want to achieve—in this case we want to promote openness—and that which we are able to achieve.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Let me risk assuming that the resolution of the Ursus Workers Council to hold a referendum was canceled not because of those formal reasons you listed, but because a tremendous majority of the Ursus work force would vote for trade union pluralism on 13 June.

J. Urban: It was not only formal reasons that I listed. I listed in the first place the reasons that matter. As for the very term "trade union pluralism," it contains a certain element of untruth, because what is at stake is political pluralism and not some kind of trade union pluralism, and this fact should be clearly stated.

John Daniszewski, AP: You have spoken here about the possibility that the PEN club may resume its activities, that the Economic Society may be legalized, and that, for example, the political discussion clubs, such as Dziekonia and others, as I have heard, may be allowed to function. That is why I am curious to know whether all this is a symptom of some trend and whether this is a trend toward loosening the restrictions on the registration of new unions and associations.

J. Urban: It is sad that you keep wondering about these things, although we continue to shout at the top of our voices that we wish to make progress in democratization and to expand its boundaries gradually and step by step. We continue to confirm this by our actions. It is possible that our actions will be suitably accelerated. But if you keep on wondering, I am sure that you will write something on this subject for us to read.

Lomza Bus Drivers Go on Strike 15 Jun
LD1506162688 Hamburg DPA in German
1548 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw—Bus drivers went on strike today in Lomza, northeast Poland. A spokesman for the local bus depot confirmed that no busses moved between 0100

and 1600. The drivers were demanding compensation for weekend work. After talks with various authorities from Bialystok and Warsaw, they resumed work this afternoon.

Glomp in Soviet Interview Speaks of Katyn
LD1506210588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Polish Primate Jozef Glomp, who was participating in the Moscow and Kiev celebrations of the millennium of Christianity in Russia, has returned home.

Meanwhile, the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has published an interview with Primate Glomp, entitled "The Chains of the Past Are Not Eternal." Asked how he views the current possibilities for a further rapprochement between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union, the primate replied: Above all, we should regard each other as partners, regardless of whether a state is

large or small. One should build everything on true equality. People then feel that this is sincere. It is important not to impose on each other our own tastes, way of life, architecture, and so forth. And there was a time, after all, when this was the practice. I think, Primate Glomp said, that we are proceeding in this direction, starting to talk together about the blank spots in history and their removal. We are not in a position to do this in 1-2 years. But, for example, one matter of principle is Katyn. It should be cleared up as quickly as possible. Poles know that it concerns the victims of war and a cross should be erected there, because people's graves are there. This is one of the practical matters whose quick solution opens up the possibility of speeding up our rapprochement.

Primate Glomp stressed in his interview for MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI that courageous changes are taking place in the Soviet Union, which provide a guarantee for the development of good relations between our states.

Need for Chemical Weapons Ban Reiterated
AU1506120688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1053 GMT 15 Jun 88

["A Definite Ban on Chemical Weapons"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/06/1988—Giving pride of place to the imperative of nuclear disarmament, as a "priority of priorities," the ten-point proposals advanced by Romania at the current UN General Assembly special session also highlight the need for the concomitant adoption of tangible, effective measures covering other areas as well among which distinguishing itself through its importance is the definite and complete liquidation of chemical weapons, reads a commentary in SCINTEIA. Drawing attention on the fact that chemical weapons are, alongside the nuclear armament, the most dreadful means of mass destruction, the newspaper writes: Today it is unanimously acknowledged that from the point of view of their destructive capacity, the chemical weapons, more particularly their so-called binary variant, are very close to nuclear ones, exceeding by far the killing potential of the conventional warfare. On the other hand, they are cheaper than the nuclear ones and their manufacture less complicated which explains the growing number of the states possessing chemical weapons.

These tendencies of proliferation of chemical warfare manifest in conditions of open urgings from certain Western circles to "fill in" the blank left following the liquidation of the intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles. Official statements have been made in this respect in a number of NATO countries meant to "justify" the recrudescence of chemical arming, accompanied by tangible measures along this line.

Setting precisely from such realities, from the concern generated in the broadest circles of world opinion by such a course, Romania, inspired by the wish that all states be guaranteed security and stability, war threat lessened and disarmament achieved, proposes at the current UN General Assembly special session—in close connection with tangible steps towards reducing and liquidating nuclear weapons—the carrying through of measures and actions which, reiterating the principle of banning the use of chemical arms, should stipulate the cessation of the manufacture of any type of suchlike weapons and the elimination of the existing ones. Setting from the fact that toxic gases are used in some parts of the world with regional conflicts, with all the consequences resulting from this, SCINTEIA writes: Of special importance would be, as Romania proposes, that until all chemical weapons are destroyed states should pledge not to resort to like weapons under any circumstances.

The newspaper opines that chemical disarmament could be speeded up by the creation of zones free of chemical arms in various parts of the world—similar to denuclearized zones or extended ones to cover this type of arms as well. Romania's and Bulgaria's initiative is well known concerning the creation of such a chemical-free-zone in the Balkans, as are other proposals like that of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia regarding the setting up of a similar zone in central Europe. UN's support to such steps, as Romania's new proposals stipulate, would meet a widely cherished desideratum and tangibly back negotiations under way on the convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons.

Imposing itself as a most stringent demand, the complete and definite liquidation of chemical weapons, a fully attainable goal in conditions in which states manifest political will, would undoubtedly go down as a major contribution to the efforts for disarmament, for a lasting security in the world, in harmony with all people's interests and aspirations, the newspaper concludes.

Symposium on Anniversary of Nationalization

AU1606084888 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 12 June carries extensive coverage of the "scientific symposium" held in Bucharest on 11 June on the 40th anniversary of nationalization in Romania. On page 1, it carries the 1,500-word telegram from the participants in the meeting to Nicolae Ceausescu, and it devotes the whole of page 2 to a 7,000-word report on the "Scientific Symposium Devoted to the 40th Anniversary of the Historic Action of Nationalizing the Major Means of Production in Romania" entitled "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Decisive Contribution To Drafting and Implementing the Policy Promoted by Our Party and State of Ensuring the Socialist Industrialization of the Country and of Strengthening and Developing Socialist Ownership, a Solid Foundation for Successfully Building Socialism and Communism in Romania."

The 7,000-word report on the symposium consists of the 950-word text of the opening speech delivered by Constantin Olteanu (15 June East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 52-53), member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, and of six reports, ranging from 600 to 1,500 words, on papers presented to the symposium by various party and government officials.

Following the text of Olteanu's speech, SCINTEIA carries the 1,500-word report on the paper presented to the symposium by Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, entitled "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept of the Socialist Industrialization of Our Country and About the Strong Development of the Socialist State and Cooperative Ownership—the Solid Basis For Ensuring the Multifaceted Progress of the Homeland and Its National Independence and Sovereignty," dealing, in general terms, with the "great

achievements" registered in Romania during the period that has elapsed since the nationalization of the major production forces of Romania on 11 June 1948, particularly during "the period of deep revolutionary changes that the Ninth RCP Congress opened up." Manescu praises Nicolae Ceausescu for drafting and implementing the "uniform strategy of territorial planning of the country's counties and localities," which is "decisive for the dynamic and renewing development of the whole socioeconomic life in our country and of the Romanian society." When talking about the importance of scientific research for the overall development of the country, Manescu praises Elena Ceausescu's merit in this area.

The remaining five papers presented to the symposium, ranging from 800 to 600 words, are reported as follows: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Decisive Contribution to Drafting the Original and Highly Democratic System of Planning and Administering the National Economy and to Formulating and Implementing the Strategy To Ensure the Socioeconomic Development of the Homeland in the Current Stage and in the Future Up to the Year 2000" presented by Comrade Stefan Birlea, candidate PEC member and chairman of the State Planning Committee; "The Concept of the RCP and of its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, About Improving the Organization and Modernization of the National Economy and Asserting Science and Education as Fundamental Factors in Building the Comprehensively Developed Society and Ensuring Romania's Progress Toward Communism" presented by Emilian Dobrescu, minister secretary of state at the National Committee for Science and Technology; "The Decisive Role Played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in Creating and Continuously Perfecting the Broad Democratic System of Participation of All the Working People—in Their Capacity as Owners, Producers, and Consumers—in the Management of Our Society and in Building Socialism With the People and for the People" presented by Barbu Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government; "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution of an Outstanding Theoretical and Practical Value, to

Drafting, Working Out, and Perfecting the Economic-Financial Mechanism, Based on Workers Self-Management, Self-Administration, and Self-Financing" presented by Neculai Ibanescu, candidate PEC member and deputy prime minister of the government; and "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Theory Regarding the More Active and More Efficient Participation of Socialist Romania in the International Division of Labor and in the Exchange of Material and Cultural Values Among All the Countries of the World" presented by Stefan Andrei, candidate PEC member and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government. All the speakers refer to and quote from ideas included in various speeches by Nicolae Ceausescu. The speakers praise Nicolae Ceausescu's concepts and note that as a result of his ideas "today, Romania highly benefits from a profound, broad, and superior system of the workers revolutionary democracy." None of the speakers mentions any negative aspects or shortfalls in the country's activity, they only welcome the "appropriate steps" that have been taken in various economic areas to ensure proper socioeconomic activity.

The report on the symposium notes that at the end of the meeting the participants sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu. The text of the 1,500-word telegram, which is carried by the 12 June SCINTEIA on its front page, is entitled "Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania by the Participants in the Scientific Symposium Devoted to the 40th Anniversary of the Historic Action of Nationalizing the Major Means of Productions in Romania." In the telegram, the participants in the meeting pay tribute to "our glorious party" and praise the revolutionary activity and the work carried out by the "much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu." The telegram expresses the "solemn pledge" of the participants in the symposium "to work with all our energy, capability, and creative power, and with the highest communist and revolutionary responsibility to unflinchingly implement the bold objectives set forward by the 13th RCP Congress and by the Party National Conference."

Reaction to Jansa, Tasic Case Continues

Assembly Defense Committee Meets
LD1506202688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1818 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly National Defence Board [as received] today expressed concern because of the spreading of unfounded rumors and statements, which in advance express doubt and distrust in the objectivity and correctness of the procedures conducted by the military authorities against journalists of the Slovenian MLADINA youth weekly Janez Jansa and David Tasic and Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Sergeant-Major Ivan Borstner. All three men, on suspicion of revealing a military secret, were arrested in Ljubljana in early June and turned over to the military authorities.

Yugoslav Deputy Defence Minister Vice-Admiral Stane Brovet today told delegates of the National Defence Board that there was founded suspicion that Sergeant-Major Borstner gave the two journalists a military document, although he was not authorized to do so. He specified that the document in question was a top secret military document on the combativeness of certain YPA units.

Brovet also said that the document, which had been found in Jansa's and Tasic's office during a search, contained nothing, as all other military documents, which could, even malevolently, be interpreted as a confirmation of the fabrication on the YPA's alleged "coup intentions" in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Brovet drew attention to the fact that the spreading of lies about such intentions, by means of some of the media, so far represented the most violent attack on the YPA and even on the country's Presidency, and on the YPA's Supreme Command.

At the board meeting, Brovet reiterated that Jansa, Tasic and Borstner had not been detained because of their political views and convictions but only because of the concrete illegal criminal act of revealing a military secret. Brovet also emphasized that the contents of the document could not be published either now or later since its publishing would also be a criminal act of revealing an Army secret.

Majority of the delegates stressed in the discussion that the military judiciary bodies should be secured undisturbed work in keeping with the law and with their competences.

Underscoring that she was in favor of a legal system and the state, Slovenian delegate Viktorija Ptocnik said that the delegates had to have more information and a more complete insight into the beginnings of these

events, which have been agitating the public. She proposed that the board should postpone the reaching of final stands. Her proposal was refused.

Further on Meeting
LD1506201888 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] The SFRY Assembly Committee for National Defense has expressed concern at the spreading of unjustified rumors and statements that prematurely express doubt and a lack of confidence in the objectivity and proper conduct of responsible military judicial organs. This conclusion was adopted after hearing information on the arrests of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, and David Tasic that was given by Assistant Secretary for National Defense Rear Admiral Stane Brovet, and following a discussion on this.

In order for the proceedings to be conducted unhindered and in accordance with legal regulations there must, it was said, be a resolute rejection of all forms of pressure on the responsible military judicial organs. There exists a suspicion that Borstner enabled Tasic and Jansa to possess a strictly confidential military document, which is concerned with the military readiness of certain units of the Yugoslav People's Army. The investigation, Brovet added, should establish how and why these unauthorized persons got hold of this document, which was found in a search of their workplaces.

MLADINA Reacts to Jansa Case
LD1506193388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1458 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Ljubljana, June 15 (TANJUG)—In a statement published today, the Editorial Board of the Slovenian youth magazine MLADINA rejected "all attempts to censure as criminal the magazine's critical concept and link the publishing activities of David Tasic and Janez Jansa to their alleged illegal activities."

The board members assessed the attempts as "efforts to censure as criminal thought itself" which, according to them, "also means criminalizing [as received] the total democratization process whose precondition is freedom of thought." Referring to reports by part of the Yugoslav press on "certain nationalistic incidents in Slovenia" and the fact that they are being linked to the arrests of journalists Jansa and Tasic and Sergeant Major Ivan Borstner, the statement sets out that "the Board demands that the public be fully informed about the events if they are true. If they prove to be fabrications they should be rejected."

The Board considers that the mentioned criminal proceedings "have objectively slowed down the processes of democratic and public debate on different political concepts and programs which have recently occurred in

Slovenia", and this "directly limits the democratic latitude for MLADINA's activities, [no closing quotation marks as received] the Board members assessed.

Slovene SAWP Examines Case

LD1506122488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 14 June (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] At the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium session, stances, opinions, proposals, and initiatives adopted by the executive committee of the Socialist Alliance Presidium last week in connection with the arrests in Slovenia were considered. The executive committee called on the responsible organs to explain what sort of military secret was involved in these documents, in order to lessen the potential for speculation. It was stated that a document has already been prepared on the founding of a council for the protection of human rights within the Socialist Alliance.

In the discussion, Mojca Drkar-Murko called for a proper and expert discussion in the Slovene Assembly and the Council for the Constitutional system as to whether or not the responsible organs had acted in an appropriate way. Dusan Semojlic noted that Yugoslavia had signed many conventions on human rights, and the question raised itself, he said, as to what extent our internal law is in keeping with the spirit of those documents. Jozse Osterman said that the message from the doctors should be supported, and he also recalled the initiative undertaken some time ago in Slovenia for an assessment of the situation in Yugoslav prisons, to which a reply had still not been given.

Zoran Polic expressed his disappointment and astonishment over the fact that certain letters had been sent to the International Court of Human Rights and the European Parliament, but there was no attempt to involve the SAWP. Polic asked why individuals were attempting to behave differently and wishing to affirm a pluralism of interests outside the SAWP, adding that part of the blame lay with the SAWP. It is impossible that those who undertook this action were unaware of the fact that this would cause such a reaction among the public, said Tone Partljic. According to Ciril Zlobec it is not just a question of three detainees, but of a phenomenon that has gained such dimensions that it is more important than the proceedings themselves.

The Slovene War Veterans Federation is also expressing concern and this, according to Stane Repar, has already become a subject of speculation among the international public. Vekoslav Grmic wondered whether everything possible had been done in order for people to have confidence in Yugoslav institutions, while Viktor Zagelj said that the current conflict should not become an issue of prestige between the civil and military judiciaries or even between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Miha Ravnik said that the stances of the executive

committee, to the extent that the responsibility for the proceedings was that of the organs that had initiated them, were also supported by the trade unions.

Ivo Tominc, from the Ljubljana military district, said that it was high time for the Presidium to halt the euphoria of spreading false, incorrect, and provocative information that utterly disturbed the Slovene and Yugoslav public. With the authorization of the commandant of the Ljubljana army district, Tominc said that the commandant had been informing the president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia about the arrest of the three citizens. In addition, after their latest meeting they had been unanimous in the assessment that the entire procedure was based on the Constitution and laws and that it should be continued in the same spirit. They also agreed that what is currently going on should end as soon as possible, of course not to the detriment of anybody in this procedure. The military court, that is, its judge, Tominc recalled, in the three public statements so far, had said everything that was necessary. However, he is not allowed to inform the public about the course of the proceedings, its content, and anything similar he is asked since this would in a certain way also harm the people in investigation proceedings. When the investigation ends, the public will be informed about its results, Tominc said. "Therefore I think that the attitude of certain groups towards the military judiciary, prosecutor, and investigative judge is very offensive. I personally even link it to a continuation of attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army organs and institutions," Tominc said.

Saying then that false and provocative information about the health, rest time, and attitude toward the people under investigation has clear intentions, Tominc said, adding that it was offensive toward physicians working in the Yugoslav People's Army and in accordance with the codex. Tominc particularly stressed that the Army public was very disturbed by these insults and provocations.

Numerous provocations of soldiers, and those carrying out sentry duties, numerous anonymous letters and telephone calls, instances of disturbing officers and their families, and even schoolchildren, cannot contribute toward creating good mutual relations. Such provocations, he said, can lead to unforeseeable consequences. I ask whether this Presidium will undertake measures only when it is too late, Tominc asked. He also warned the committee, and all others who, in a provocative manner, are blowing up this case, that it could lead to grave consequences of an unseen provocative action that obviously "has no basis in the foundations of a legal state, but could have very grave consequences."

In conclusion, Tominc also asked why everything necessary had not been done to ensure the work of judicial organs without making insinuations and expressing

scorn, and whether anybody was allowed to use false information with no consequences and demand information and dictate the work of judicial organs outside legal regulations.

Summing up the debate, Jozе Smole stressed in conclusion that the Presidium supports the stands of the executive committee and is in favor of their implementation. He also positively assessed the message from a session of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the statement by the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia.

Commenting on the concrete case of the arrest, Smole said that "it was obvious that the secret military document could have been given to unauthorized civilians only by someone who is in the regular employment of the Yugoslav People's Army." This should be particularly stressed, Smole added, since the possession of such a military document by two civilians is a consequence of a criminal act by a military personality. "Military judicial organs will undoubtedly establish how, in spite of military discipline and clear regulations of service in the Yugoslav People's Army, and particularly precise instructions on treating strictly confidential documents, such negligence could have taken place in the Yugoslav People's Army, that is, such behavior," Smole said. Recalling that the executive committee has appealed to competent organs in the Yugoslav People's Army to indicate to the public which area the military document in question referred to, Jozе Smole said that according to him, this would not in any way reveal the content of the document. I refer to an article by Bogdan Ibrajter in *POLITIKA* of 9 June, in which it is said that this was a military document that referred directly to the combat readiness of some units of our armed forces. This statement has not been denied.

The Presidium endorsed the proposal that judicial organs should speed up investigation procedures and bring the case to an end, and any delay, according to Smole, would result in disturbing the public further. He also spoke resolutely in favor of respect for the law, and also a correct attitude toward the accused. From this aspect, active support has been given to the demands that two civilians, Jansa and Tasic, should defend themselves while free, with the participation of civilian lawyers.

"I believe that it is necessary to resolutely refute the claim that has also been publicly expressed that this is a political settling of accounts with Jansa, who is well-known for his critical writing about the Yugoslav People's Army." According to Smole, "such claims cannot be called anything but clear insinuations whose obvious aim is to splinter the public and encourage a lack of confidence in sociopolitical organizations' leaders."

Smole also said that it was necessary to react resolutely to every phenomenon of an anti-Army mood and to undertake measures against such phenomena. "We are dealing with our common Yugoslav People's Army,

which is the backbone of our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. We have a vital interest in strengthening our defense and in continuing the process of its socialization. We also have the duty to act resolutely against every phenomenon where this case is being taken advantage of in order to create an anti-Yugoslav mood, a negative mood towards members of other nations and nationalities of the SFRY," said Smole. He added the following: "At the same time, we call on the leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations in other socialist republics and provinces, and those at the federal level, to resolutely oppose every case wherein an anti-Slovene mood is being created. Even more so, since certain articles in certain Yugoslav newspapers have such tendencies."

Smole expressed the opinion that insinuations were also present to the effect that Slovenia had gone too far in the democratization of sociopolitical relations and that the political leadership of the SR of Slovenia was to blame for the current state of disturbance among the Slovene public. "If such claims continue," he said, "they could, objectively speaking, create an anti-Slovene mood that could have serious consequences in our Yugoslav community."

Smole also asked whether the Socialist Alliance was sufficiently open to receive all the democratic initiatives of citizens, and whether it ensured, in its ranks, sufficient possibilities for the articulation and expression of differing views. In spite of clear decisions in principle, in his opinion, not enough had yet been done in practice. "In our opinion, the demands for a modernization of the criminal legislature are legitimate. However, Smole said, this cannot be placed in direct connection with the proceedings against the three accused. Those proceedings, from the point of view of a legal and civil society, can only be conducted on the basis of the laws that are now valid."

Finally, Smole said that "the political disturbance of the public started with different assessments of the situation in Slovenia in connection with the appearance of articles whose content was an attack on the Yugoslav People's Army." We are not belittling the content of the attacks, said Smole. According to him, it is necessary to straighten out the assessments of the political situation in Slovenia, and competent assessments, he said, can only be made by the competent organs of the SR of Slovenia.

Croatian Writers View Case
LD1506094988 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Croatian Writers' Society, discussed at their session today the worrying situation—as they described it—which has arisen from the imprisonment of journalists Janez Jansa and David Tasic and of Sergeant Major Ivan Borstner. The statement says that

the explanation that have been given to the public up to now in connection with this case are not satisfactory and only increase the number of questions and the anxiety that arises from them.

The Presidium of the Society of Croatian Writers considers that every citizen of our country has the right to regular court proceedings in accordance with the law and the Constitution, just as the public has the right to information on why someone is deprived of that which is most important and most valuable to all men: their freedom. The statement, however, does not contain an explanation of the basis for the members expressing doubt in advance about the proper nature of these legal proceedings, when they are only in the investigative stage. It is not usual—and this is equally true for other legal systems in the world—for the public to be informed of all the details of the investigation, particularly when military secrets are involved.

There is also no reply in the statement to another logical question: Why should anyone, including journalists and writers, be an exception from the regular legally established legal procedure, assuming, of course, that the suspicions are well-founded? Without going into this vital question, the statement by the members of the Presidium of the Croatian Writers' Society expresses solidarity with the members of the Slovene PEN center and the society of Slovene Writers.

Slovene Youth Termed Scapegoat for MLADINA
AU1506191088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Jun 88 p 3

[D. Pusonjic report: "Slovenia Is Making Amends for MLADINA"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 June—Every system undergoing a crisis, and especially its bureaucratic structures, justifies its crisis by looking for a counterrevolutionary enemy, which is easy to locate. The Slovene youth is the scapegoat for MLADINA's reporting, but some people go as far as looking for a scapegoat in the whole community, that is in Slovenia. Peter Barbaric (director of the Ljubljana Radio Student) backed up this view with Marx's theses on the Jewish question at today's session of the two commissions of the Socialist Youth Federation for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection and for Information, which was devoted to MLADINA's writing about the system of all people's defense and social self-protection and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Barbaric presented an original assessment of the sources of the articles in MLADINA, which numerous forums have already characterized as attacks on the Army. In his opinion, the writers of the contentious articles unjustifiably generalized about their own personal experience during their military service and "journalistic paranoia

is to blame for this." Such mistakes are rectified either in the newspaper itself or in the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation, which is MLADINA's founder.

"Has the combat capability and ideopolitical unity of our Army reached such a level that they can be destroyed by mosquito-like journalists?" asked Barbaric, maintaining that what is much more delicate than the incorrect writing of MLADINA journalists, is the way the Yugoslav People's Army replied to these attacks "not with arguments but with their own attacks." In his opinion, this is because another paranoia is taking effect, this time a pragmatic paranoia: Every critical article about the Yugoslav People's Army is equated with counterrevolution, without reasoned arguments and forgetting that the Army can be affirmed not just through "complimentary" articles in the press. All this is normal for Barbaric because "if the attacks are exaggerated, then there is no room for dialogue."

Other people spoke today about the impossibility of dialogue but in a somewhat different sense: The Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation was reproached for not presenting the requested analysis of MLADINA's writing about the Army, defense, and social self-protection for 4 months, despite a request from the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation Conference. It was not possible today to adopt any kind of conclusion because the delegates of the two commissions (this time there was a quorum!) refused to make any decisions only on the basis of excerpts from contentious articles. Branko Popovic (from the Yugoslav Red Cross) therefore said that "we have more information about MLADINA articles in the daily newspapers and periodicals than in the report that we received today, which is a disgrace."

Nijaz Skenderagic (the chairman) suggested that comradely criticism be offered to the leadership of the Slovene youth organization. In his opening speech, in which he recalled what each forum has said until now about MLADINA, he proposed the conclusions of today's meeting (which ranged from the demand that responsibility in MLADINA itself be cleared up through the responsibility of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation leadership because of its tardy reactions, to a regular analysis of the writing of the youth press, particularly of those elements which have already published attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army....").

'Leading Slovene Intellectuals' Criticized
AU1506190988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Jun 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Defenders of the Nation"]

[Text] However much one tries to be tolerant, the views and opinions of the "leading Slovene intellectuals" are difficult to swallow for the majority of Yugoslavs who are offered a bottle of bile instead of a cup of honey. As

it says in the 4 JULI commentary, how else is one to understand the words of Ciril Zlobec that "the latest and increasingly intense view of a strong state (read Yugoslavia) in which the peoples would find their own place and meaning, is neither democratic nor in keeping with AVNOJ principles, nor does it offer any future for Slovene independence and sovereignty." Or Ljuba Bavcon's claim that the criminal legislature in Slovenia is on a higher level of civilization and his view that, because of this, demands for a single criminal legislature and single judiciary should be rejected.

The author thinks that problems do not arise if the creative intelligentsia is preoccupied with the concept of the development and affirmation of national culture and if it works for the synthesizing of national expression and international thought. The problem arises when their views are not directed toward integrational processes; when national interests break from the social ones, and when these views, whether they want to or not, finally attain nationalist characteristics. In any case, will the "protection" of Slovenism not bring about the protection of Serbianism, Croatianism, Macedonianism....?

One should completely oppose any taking of sides by and feelings of support from other communities that are the least cultural, as well as the stirring up of some kind of Slovene syndrome whose conception has been announced who knows how many times by problematic theses.

The 4 JULI article states that it is obvious that a certain number of Slovene intellectuals are in a position of constant and real opposition to the community, operating in the interests of the nation, although they are more frequently deeply against these interests. Encouraged by their self-appointed duty as defenders of the nation (from Yugoslavia), they strongly insist on differences where no one has denied they exist and where these differences are intertwined with similarities with the rest of the Yugoslavs.

Loyalty in Slovenia Examined

AU1106202788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
4-5 Jun 88 p 4

[Slavoljub Djukic commentary: "A Dossier on Disloyalty"]

[Text] In reading Stane Kavcic's diary, one again comes to the conclusion that everything has already happened in the past and that only personalities and situations have changed. What this prominent Slovene official went through in his own community some 15 years ago is, in a certain way, now being experienced collectively by all of Slovenia over a wider Yugoslav arena.

According to the explanation given to the public, Stane Kavcic was excluded from politics because of the "road affair." [Slovene protest in July 1969 against the FEC

diverting international road construction loan from Slovenia to Vojvodina] It was known then, and is of course known today, that what was involved were major conceptual differences within the Slovene leadership. As a practical person who was obviously bothered by dogmatism, Kavcic advocated greater openness toward Europe and the acceptance of its heritage of civilization, but he did this timidly, which was the only way it could be done at the time. He was labeled a separatist who saw Slovenia "as an independent state within developed Europe and outside socialist Yugoslavia," according to Mitja Ribicic (as quoted by the author of "Diary and Memoirs"). [Kavcic's book] In 1973, Ljubljana DELO even refused to publish the following denial by Kavcic: "My vision was only united socialist Europe in which socialist Yugoslavia and Slovenia (as an integral part of the SFRY) would achieve space, a certain role, and importance." In fact, at the beginning of the seventies, Kavcic only touched on some topics that have since been developed to a great extent and have recently become Slovene national policy. Together with other remarks, Mitja Ribicic later admitted that Kavcic was in fact "a rooster that crowed too early," and it is left to the public to draw comparisons between the fate of some activists and our situation today.

The interesting thing one finds in such parallels is that major political disagreements are almost invariably followed by affairs. At the time of the "mass movement" [Croat nationalist movement in 1971], an accusation was fabricated about a conspiracy organized against the Croatian leadership and the entire Yugoslav Government was said to be shaking. Now there is the current affair on the alleged coup by the military and police in Slovenia. Political turnabouts are also always followed by panicky thoughts about the breakdown of Yugoslavia and secession of some of its parts. Croatia suffered this fate at the beginning of the seventies. Slovenia is now in an even more difficult position because it is the subject of unpleasant accusations and is in the position of having to prove its loyalty to Yugoslavia. Since such apprehensions have appeared after a joint state has existed for 70 years, and have occurred only some 10 years after our frequent protestations that Yugoslavia is the most stable country in the world (we are constantly plagued by exaggerations), what is involved is either our chronic state of disorganization or manipulation intended to divert public attention from certain essential topics.

Pedestals Wrapped in Mist [subhead]

As if he has had enough of all this, Milan Kucan nervously and bitterly said the following at the LCY Conference: "I do not think that we are obliged any longer to prove to anybody that we are within Yugoslavia and that we support brotherhood, unity, and national equality." Kucan would like to see a stop put to this kind of discussions. However, they are continuing with unpleasant insinuations on bizarre occasions, such as at the Yugoslav youth rally in Maribor. Newspaper correspondents reporting the rally devoted special attention

to the following detail in the Slovene youth program: Seven body-builders and a slender girl were standing on eight pedestals wrapped in mist. The girl was the first one to get down from her pedestal and was met by young men who put expensive furs over her shoulders.

One cannot interpret the attention that some correspondents devoted to this play—which they took to be a corpus delicti proving Slovenia's intention to leave Yugoslavia—in any other way than as a systematic accumulation of dossiers on Slovene disloyalty. Several newspapers even organized debates about whether secession of federal units is constitutionally feasible, and there is no doubt that these debates were inspired by Slovenia.

It is interesting that the foreign press shows no interest in this topic, which can by no means be explained by saying that foreign circles are uninformed. It also happens that otherwise unsentimental foreign capital, which keeps providing us with loans, believes in Yugoslavia more than our chauvinists and political and spiritual fathers, who forget that when our old and—as we used to call it—rotten Yugoslavia was finally destroyed, it was not from inside, but from outside, and that it is just as difficult to break up a community geographically as it is to create a harmonious relationship. Rebecca West, an Englishwoman whose reminiscences are being carried in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, smiles gently when she describes quarrels between Serbs and Croats immediately before the war. Since then, nothing has probably changed in these quarrels, not even the reasoning behind them.

Excesses Serving Politicians [subhead]

It is in fact difficult in our country to establish whether or not certain people are concerned or happy about political excesses. If they are concerned, this is a sign of responsibility, but also of a misguided view that it is possible to create a democratic society and at the same time keep all thoughts under control. A much more serious problem is that for decades excesses are received in our country with fervor, and then exaggerated and used for deeper political purposes.

Honestly speaking, the entire hullabaloo about Slovene disloyalty is in fact a form of pressure and represents disagreement with the Slovenes' ideas about the methods of socialist transformation. There are serious and often very deep conceptual differences in viewing the future of Yugoslav society and the way out of the crisis. This was also evident at the LCY Conference. The result is public disputes that are often dramatic and that serve less to bring views closer than to cause everyone to search for the flaws of others.

Let us observe the present situation. There is no doubt that a portion of Yugoslavia disagrees with some exclusively Slovene ideas that destroy many past and obviously worn-out socialist stereotypes. However, this disagreement implies parimarily an irreconcilable denunciation of the Slovene political program which is,

after all, only a suggestion and a rough outline of a possible approach to a way out of the social crisis. This hostility leads in fact to a drawing together of the Slovenes and is received by them as a national insult.

There are undoubtedly some different political trends in Slovenia that are less obvious now simply because of these pressures from outside. Milan Kucan and some Slovene intellectuals do not hold the views. However, certain people can apparently be convinced of this only when Kucan at least incapacitates the people who think differently.

One can speak similarly about Slovenes. An idea, however progressive and democratic it may be at first sight, cannot be imposed on people by force, because it would thereby disqualify itself. An idea has value to the extent it achieves results in its own community and to the extent it acquires followers outside that community. Unfortunately, as a result of confrontations, the Slovene program now often finds itself under suspicion. There are some surprisingly rigid views in a community that is working its way toward democracy, and this demonstrates what destructive consequences are left by dogmatism even in those places where there is whole-hearted opposition to it. When France Popit speaks about "the conservative alliance," thereby alluding to southern parts of Yugoslavia, nothing can be expected from such a crude generalization than the alienation of even those people who have an affinity for Slovene ideas. In this way, the categorical, exclusive, and irritated manner used by Joze Smole in some of his public statements only provokes regret among people who admire his great contribution to the SAWP's new role.

At the End of All Victories [subhead]

Although as a rule it is a minority that is responsible for progress, there are chances for success in the long run only if this minority takes steps toward making the program acceptable for Yugoslavia. If it does not, isolation is inevitable. No one is given carte blanche any more, not even our country's top political leadership, which lacks the power as well as the reputation of previous authorities. This power can be replaced only by collective awareness and maturity. There is a general Yugoslav problem that is manifested by everyone promoting his own views and that results in everyone holding firmly and persistently to these views at all costs.

For decades now, the reaction to many things representing a new democratic thought has been: This is unacceptable! And many of these ideas are here with us all the time and repeatedly knock on our doors. We constantly tilt at windmills and proclaim our victories, and then inform the people that we owe \$20 billion and that the country is in a serious crisis. In the meantime, we have passed through many reforms that always turned out to

have only a medicinal effect with: changes only refreshing the old model. We were never ready to admit that changes are impossible if we intend to preserve all myths and all old stereotypes.

With even greater stress and sincerity than ever before, we are all now shouting at the top of our voices that we support reforms. However, there are still some essential differences in how the contents of reforms are interpreted. As for how long this is going to last and how much we can still endure, we can say that as time goes by, the opportunities decrease. Unfortunately, our political and social situation is very suitable for many fallacies and for seeking easy solutions. This can—particularly in the name of unity—persuade people to believe in an antidemocratic and particularly nationalistic course. This is our greatest danger.

There is also the fact that we are now at almost the same stage of thinking as the other reform-minded socialist countries, and we had realized some things such a long time before they did. Many things have been tried in our country. We often behaved as an experimental laboratory, only we have not tried the essence of democracy because in reformist struggles between conservatism and democracy, conservatism demonstrated itself to be the stronger side.

Comparison of LCY Conference Theses

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 13 June on pages 7-10 carries the text of the LCY Conference Theses. The BORBA report has been compared with the TANJUG Domestic Service Serbo-Croatian version published in the 14 June 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 29-45, revealing differences in the TANJUG introduction, the subheads supplied by BORBA, and the following variations:

Page 34, column one, second paragraph, last sentence, to third paragraph, first sentence, reads in BORBA: ... and thoroughly examined. [new paragraph]

10. The switchover to new conditions of economic operation and development, the activity of the market, and the restructuring of the economy on present-day foundations will also create major social problems, especially for the people who, because of the restructuring, will remain without jobs, and for whom efficient solutions have to be found in the system and in the economic and development policy, and so enable economic entities to cope with this switchover. [new paragraph]

The social problems (providing alternative translation)

Page 38, column two, third full paragraph on column, last sentence reads in BORBA: ...the constitutional principles about the fundamental functions ... (changing queried word "(?)in)" to "about")

Page 38, column two, fourth full paragraph on column, first sentence, reads in BORBA: ... of federal laws. [new paragraph]

— The significant increase (supplying double dashes, starting new paragraph)

Page 41, column one, first full paragraph on page, first sentence reads in BORBA: ... position of the party of this system [partija poretka], and resolutely overcome the situation in which its leading role is being exhausted, mainly by the decree-link transfer of tasks (changing queried words from "(?)party and the system)," to "party of this system," supplying indistinct word)

Krunic Speaks on Implementing Adopted Views LD1406210088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Sremska Mitrovica, June 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia should urgently implement the envisaged economic changes and constitutional amendments in order to pave the way for the realization of the concept of the economic reform and promote the political system—President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Bosko Krunic said today.

Speaking on the implementation of the views adopted at the recently ended LCY Conference in the town of Sremska Mitrovica, 80 kilometers west of Belgrade, Krunic said the LCY's most significant tasks were: the economic and political reforms, halting the Serbs' and Montenegrins' migration from the province of Kosovo, training of the LCY cadres and the changes of the LCY statute.

As the most significant result of the LCY first conference held this May, the president of the LCY CC Presidency enumerated: The Communists' high level of unity and views, the persistence to have the economic reform implemented and the political system adjusted and freed from the institutionalized solutions, which had proved inefficient.

Further on Speech

LD1506135388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Sremska Mitrovica, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—In the implementation of the theses of the LCY Conference there should be no waiting to see what the Central Committee or its Presidium does. All organizations and organs should immediately set about organizing themselves for the implementation of the conference theses. The interpretation of the theses must serve the operational work and organization of all organs and organizations, Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, told the political aktiv in Sremska Mitrovica today.

The most urgent tasks, those which demand immediate implementation, are, in Kronic's opinion, economic measures, constitutional changes, and changes of some laws, in order to open up a space within the envisaged time limit for the realization of the concept of economic reform and the advancement of the political system. These are followed by issues of relations within the Federation, the overcoming of some chronic illnesses—above all that of inefficiency—in the activity of the republics and provinces, and their agreement in the Federation. Also included are changes related to associated labor and to its organization, relations within it, and the more rapid removal of "bottlenecks".

Issues and problems related to Kosovo are also of high priority, tasks set by the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum. He specified that in July a Central Committee session will consider the implementation of theses on Kosovo and the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum. This is a duty we have undertaken, and it will also be the duty of all organizations and organs of the LC, not just so that we can prepare a good discussion, but so that we can implement practical measures in Kosovo; above all, halting emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins and speeding up the development of that province, stressed Kronic.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, associated labor should be organized and motivated in such a way that it unites, so that a process of integration develops with the participation of specialist cadres that can help everything possible to be done for those who have emigrated from Kosovo to return. In a word, said Kronic, the whole of Yugoslavia must be in Kosovo, with its concerns and responsibilities. This, in his opinion, is the best way to halt the emigration, above all of Serbs and Montenegrins, from Kosovo.

Kronic also placed the implementation of cadre policy in the LC and in society, and reform in the LC itself, among the issues that have a high priority. This means cadre renewal, which must ensure that the right people get to the right posts, so that they can be the proponents of social changes and reforms.

Kronic noted in this connection that the problem of cadre renewal should not be taken to mean a time of "dramatic replacements, although where this is necessary there will be such replacements, as is already happening in society.

Also in the forefront of our tasks, Kronic underlined, is the need to resolve relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. At one time it was thought that the problems had been overcome, that agreement had been reached on the unresolved issues in the republic, but it is now clear that we are stumbling slightly in the implementation of these agreements. It will be essential to open up a discussion in good time, both in the provinces and in the republic, in

the organs of the Federation, and above all in the Central Committee and in its Presidium, in order to prevent new splits in relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The issues with which we will concern ourselves in the long term, and which also cannot be postponed, relate to the political system, primarily democratic institutions and forms of sociopolitical life. Through the development of openness as a factor of democracy and a specific aspect of its expression, we will show both the open nature and the vitality of socialist self-management in a mature phase of its development. Part of the constitutional changes relate to the affirmation of workers' councils. This will not depend only on the way in which we place these in the Constitution and the law, but also on the resoluteness and responsibility of the LC and of other social organizations in working on these issues. It is not accidental that we are "returning" to workers' councils, delegate assemblies, and councils, Kronic noted.

He pointed out that certain preparations required long-term scientific and expert discussions in the LC organizations and elsewhere; preparations, for example, for the changes relating to the text of a new statute, or to changes in the LCY statute. For this reason we must begin preparations for the 14th LCY congress in good time, since the LC is faced with the task of great changes and cannot become the "bottleneck" in political life. Now we cannot "chase our own tails," that is, be preoccupied with ourselves in the LC. It would be too much of a luxury and would be irresponsible if we were to concern ourselves with marginal issues instead of vital ones.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium also drew attention to the fact that it is not good that certain "one-sided arguments," comments, and presumptuous assessments about the conference are appearing. He considered that the dilemmas on whether or not we should hold an extraordinary congress are behind us. Things are clear, responsibility has been established, the test of all of us will be the results of our work, the measures and the assessments will be made according to whether we are moving toward reform or not, whether this is our main preoccupation or not.

In reply to the question of whether the LCY Conference had done all it could, Kronic defined its most important result as being the high level of unity in views and in resoluteness on the realization of the economic reform, the adaptation of the political system, and liberation from institutional solutions that had not proved effective. He saw an openly critical attitude toward all organs and institutions and the readiness and determination to persevere in implementing the congress decisions as a basis for optimism.

Everything indicates that the LCY Conference was prepared by the whole LC organization, in which there is a strong orientation for a revolutionary step to be made,

for fundamental and comprehensive changes. Thus by taking this step the conference, whatever is said about it, rose above the statutory framework, Kronic concluded.

Kronic Opens Exhibition Honoring Old CP
*LD1306225688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 13 Jun 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The Fifth Congress of the KPJ [Yugoslav Communist Party], held between 21 and 28 July 1948 in the Guards Club at Topcider, was one of the most important political manifestations held in Yugoslavia throughout the entire postwar period. This is because it represented a turning point in the political and economic development of the country and a new orientation on the international plane. This was stressed today by Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as he opened an exhibition about the Fifth KPJ Congress in the "25th May" Museum in Belgrade.

The opening of this exhibition, organized in connection with the observance of the 40th anniversary of the KPJ Fifth Congress, was attended by several prominent sociopolitical, cultural, and public workers of the Federation, Serbia, and the city of Belgrade, as well as by members of the diplomatic corps in Belgrade.

The Fifth KPJ Congress, said Kronic, was held at the time when our peoples were healing the wounds of enormous sacrifices and wartime destruction. This was a time when, full of drive and zest for work, we began to pull the country out of economic and cultural backwardness and were firmly convinced that with our own resources and the fraternal assistance of the socialist countries and other democratic forces in the world we shall successfully overcome the second stage of the revolution. However, these plans and hopes of ours were cut short by a sudden and unexpected blow dealt us by the then closest ally in whom we had placed our highest trust and from whom we had expected the biggest help.

That blow by Stalin, stressed Kronic, although we had difficulties living with it, and this applied especially to KPJ and SKOJ [Federation of Yugoslav Communist Youth] members, was at the same time a sobering stimulus to reexamine and analyze in depth our reality and to reject some of the illusions and errors of a dogmatic nature.

Kronic made the assessment that the unity displayed at that meeting constituted the biggest guarantee that no one was going to divert Yugoslavia from the path mapped out during the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution. The fifth congress was the time of enthusiasm and defiance, of unity in practice, said Kronic. He recalled that soon afterwards prolonged military and economic blockades, threats, tremendous propaganda campaigns, saber rattling and murder of border guards ensued.

Over 5,000 Cominform resolution supporters [ibeovci] in the socialist countries, added Kronic, were included in this campaign. In the border troubles, over a period of many years 8,000 incidents were recorded and 140 armed clashes, while 27 border guards were killed. Ninety espionage centers and over 700 spies were in action. The whole thing lasted for 6 long years. All commodity exchange was stopped, agreements were canceled. Big losses and development delays ensued, and the people lived on rations. However, stressed Kronic, young people and citizens were on the building sites en masse and that was our response to the campaign.

Some Western circles tried to take advantage of this difficult economic and political situation in Yugoslavia, said Kronic. He stressed that the KPJ found support in the unity of the party and of the people, in equality and in reliance on its own historic roots.

Khrushchev and Bulganin, on 26 May 1955, at the airport at Zemun, admitted the mistake. We recall that picture of how Tito calmly and with dignity listened to the excuses. It can be said that with this act the era of the information bureau ended, although friction was to continue for some years. By resisting Stalin's dictate, the KPJ gained great standing in the international workers' movement (?as did) [word indistinct] Yugoslavia among the democratic world public.

Ten years after the fifth congress, we adopted a program which, inspired by this, inaugurated socialist self-management as a form of power for the working class and of democratic relations in a socialist society. Yugoslavs seized upon this task, seeking new forms of democracy and self-management in general, without being enslaved by dogmatism, underlined Kronic.

The historical importance of the Fifth KPJ Congress, assessed Kronic at the end of his speech, grows greater with time. Trends in socialist countries and in socialist thought generally confirm the historical importance of this act. Tito's "No" was the beginning of the end of Stalinism, which opened the way for a strong upsurge in creative thought and practice. Above all, the Fifth Congress of the KPJ acts as an inspiration also in the moments of crisis that we are living through, and in finding ways to overcome the crisis with a united party and people, said president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Bosko Kronic.

The exhibition on the Fifth KPJ Congress in the "25th May" Museum includes over 300 photographs and archive documents and presents historical events from 1945 to 1956, including the most important events in the internal and foreign policy of Yugoslavia, from the period of the renewal and construction of the country to the beginning of the Nonaligned Movement.

Council Discusses Assembly Foreign Policy Role
LD1506203688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1705 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Constitution provides that the Federal Assembly creates the country's foreign policy, but the Assembly is not fulfilling its role, it was assessed at a session of the Federal Council Committee for Socio-Political Relations today.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy is created by the country's Presidency and the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. The two bodies only inform the Federal Assembly of its decisions.

This is the reason why the delegates urged that the constitutional amendments specify who is responsible for what in the establishing of the country's foreign policy.

The council underlined the necessity for the Federal Assembly to discuss all platforms pertaining to the country's foreign activities and decide on inter-state contacts. The Assembly should no longer limit its activities predominantly to parliamentary cooperation, as it has so far, and adopting the other platforms post festum [as received].

Safety of Krsko Nuclear Station Questioned
AU1606142188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Jun 88 p 2

[T. Bohus report: "The Squaring of the Nuclear Circle"]

[Text] Although the Krsko nuclear power station has been working at full capacity for 6 years (test production started in 1981), 7 out of 27 conditions for its safe operation have still not been met. Even today, Krsko does not have a permit to operate permanently, nor a safe dump for the permanent disposal of radioactive waste of low or medium intensity, nor an ideological solution for supplying Zagreb with drinking water, nor a way of measuring radioactivity in those areas downstream from Krsko that are sometimes flooded by the Sava, nor...

However, the people (mainly Krsko's nearer or more distant neighbors) are worried not only about the conditions that have not been fulfilled, but also those that have supposedly been met for the permanent operation of our first nuclear power station.

This group of "unfulfilled conditions" also includes various "papers" which advise those well and those not so well-informed neighbors of the nuclear power station on how to behave in case of a possible accident in the plant.

One such "piece of advice" is a geographical map that indicates the threatened region from which the population would have to be evacuated in the case of a nuclear accident. The circle of the planned evacuation reaches exactly to the two nearest points on the border of the neighboring SR of Croatia!

The question that the nuclear layman cannot help asking himself is: By what squaring of the nuclear circle has someone worked out that the atoms will actually stop at the border with Slovenia? Or is this circle nevertheless a product of our mentality and logic in that we think only about our region, and anything outside is not our concern? The truth is that Krsko is the joint property of two of our neighboring republics. But is this also the case with the two populations?

Six-Month Export Figures Released
LD1406214588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1925 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 14 (TANJUG)—In the January to June 6 period, Yugoslav exports reached a total of five billion dollars, which is 19.6 percent up on the same period in 1987.

Exports to developed countries totalling two billion and 725 million dollars, have grown by 30 percent.

Exporting to clearing account areas have grown by eight percent, which is in accordance with the planned keeping of the clearing account exports at last year's level.

The planned increase of imports from the clearing account area, especially the Soviet Union, in order to decrease the great surplus that Yugoslavia has in trading with the Soviet Union, is not being fulfilled.

Overall Yugoslav purchases in the world, concluding with June 6, stand at four billion 975 million dollars, which is some 40 million dollars less than last year's buying total in the same period. Imports from the hard currency areas have been reduced by only 1.3 percent.

According to statistics for June, Yugoslavia has a trade surplus of 30 million dollars.

SAWPY Report Notes Demand for More Change
LD1006131988 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1710 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—Participants in the public debate on constitutional changes demanded much bigger changes than those contained in the draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, says a report presented today in the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY), the country's most massive socio-political organization.

The public debate supported the basic purpose of the amendments and also offered important conditions, because the presented solutions are seen as inadequate for overcoming the crisis.

Members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Coordination Bureau, who (?prepared) the report, said that major agreement on changes in the field of socio-economic relations was reached during the debate. However, there are grave differences concerning solutions in the political system and relations in the Federation.

Some four million Yugoslavs participated in the public debate.

Trade Unions Council Divided on 'Four Issues'
AU1406084388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Jun 88 p 3

[B. Grbic report: "The Most Important in Two Versions"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun—The assessment and stances of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia on the Draft Amendments of the SFRY Constitution—compiled in 38 points—were adopted despite the fact that different opinions were expressed on four issues. These issues refer to large industrial systems, the system of education and training, the taxation system, and the proposal for introducing the chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. In addition to the main stance, alternative views to these issues were also provided.

This kind of outcome was a result of an occasionally stormy discussion and voting, because it was claimed that the trade union organization should have clear views on all issues.

Stojan Stojevski said that public debate strongly demonstrated the unanimous demands of the workers and the workers class for more rapid development and a better quality of self-management and for strengthening the constitutional position of the workers class in decision-making on social reproduction as a whole. There were also calls for greater unity in the country based on the stronger unity of class and national elements within the Yugoslav Federation, upon which the realization of socioeconomic and political reform would depend.

— As regards the self-managing form of organization, the participants held the unanimous view that the experience of introducing the law on associated labor has shown that setting conditions and forms of organizing in associated labor is untenable, with fast technical-technological changes and changes in production programs.

— The alternative to the majority view, which in addition to the uniform technological conditions large systems should be provided with the uniform self-managing socioeconomic relations, amounted to support for technological uniformity only.

— The alternative to the basic stance on the "unified taxation policy" was that the trade union organization will also support the "unified basis" of this system.

— The majority's view that a federal law should establish the joint basis of the education and training system included an amendment according to which this obligation should not be included in the Constitution.

— The alternative view to the majority's view on introducing a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly opposed this chamber.

Dusan Rebolj from the Slovene trade organization, who opposed the basic proposals most, explained all the alternative solutions.

The members of the Council otherwise came up with a large number of new proposals. For instance, Radojka Kocijancic was of the opinion that members of the Presidium should be elected by the Assembly and that the president's term of office should be 4 years. As far as the republican and provincial presidiums are concerned, the Council was of the opinion that they should be abolished.

Sulejman Hrle stressed that the provisions on socially owned property should be made more precise so that one could know that this property only belongs to a self-managing entity, which is to say to associated workers. Mirko Mecava warned that workers should not be at the "margin of private ownership," which is being increasingly promoted.

Among a wide range of new proposals, there was also a view (Rebolj) that the workers who become unemployed (technological surplus) must be given priority in finding a job, must have personal incomes that would guarantee social security, and that they must have all other rights that they would enjoy had they remained employed.

Some participants also mentioned the need for the Constitution to determine the position of the SR of Serbia as a state, and its duties on the whole territory, while, of course, respecting the autonomy of the provinces.

Zvonimir Hrabar—who was today relieved of his duty of president having completed a 1-year term of office—concluded that in addition to the adopted document all other proposals that were not disputed at the session will be included in the further procedure.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Acceptable Changes [subhead]

Expressing his thanks to the Council for the given trust, new president Marjan Orozen in his fairly long speech said among other things the following:

"The only acceptable changes for us are those changes that lead toward the emancipation of associated labor and workers from the state guardianship and that will stimulate the workers for better work and self-management, for technological progress, the economically efficient method of conducting business activities and the generation of income, and for competition in world markets.

We are therefore talking about those changes that will improve living and work conditions, that will open up prospects for full employment and social security in general, particularly in the case of the young generation.

Our support goes only to those economic policies that are consistently anti-inflationary, policies that proceed from the essence of self-management, policies that will return to associated labor its ability and its own power to change the situation, its ability to advance.

Jovic Speaks on Rights of Provinces

LD1306223288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbia does not intend to diminish the rights of the provinces. Just as the Federation has the right to monitor the promulgation of its laws throughout the territory of the country, so Serbia too must be able to do the same throughout the territory of Serbia. Borislav Jovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, said this to representatives of the press in connection with 13 June, Serbian Journalists' Day.

Most attention in these talks with journalists in the Serbian Journalists' Society was devoted to the constitutional changes in Serbia, about which it was said that they represent one of the key questions for finding a way out of the crisis. According to Borislav Jovic, events in Kosovo have demonstrated what it means when a republic does not have the authority to take measures. The constitutional measures that are being proposed should make it possible for it to have this right—not on paper, but in reality, and in many areas. This should also mean that citizens from throughout its territory can take legal proceedings up to the Serbian High Court. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the problem of Serbia's lagging behind in economic development, Jovic said that over the last few years this republic, which has below average development, had made contributions to the undeveloped regions as if it were above average. It only gave and in return obtained nothing, although, in view of its level of development, it deserved something.

To journalists' questions as to whether or not the latest events in Slovenia are diverting the attention of the Yugoslav public from Serbia, Borislav Jovic said that events in Slovenia have their own causes and dimension and can have no bearing on Serbia's problems.

Speaking about the results of the eighth session, Borislav Jovic stressed that over the last 8 and 1/2 months much has changed. In the first instance, the question of responsibility for the situation in Kosovo has changed, though the results about all this are being summed up every day.

Renovica Defends Himself on Housing Questions

AU0906105988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2
Jun 88 p 4

[Public statement by Milanko Renovica: "I Have Nothing To Hide"]

[Text] The question of property owned by Milanko Renovica, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was raised at the First LCY Conference that has just concluded, as it was raised in some papers earlier. It involves a family house in the village where he was born, an apartment in Sarajevo, and a villa in Neum. In this context, the manner in which this property was acquired was also questioned.

BORBA has approached Renovica with a request that he answer the reproaches addressed to him. Milanko Renovica made the following statement for the public:

"AS No 386 of 13 May 1988, published by the OSLOBODJENJE Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization, published on its front page an article entitled "Gatherer of Apartments," which in a tendentious way presents untruths and disinformation about me and my family. Such writing has aroused the interest of the public at large, and some weeklies and reviews (NASI DANI, POLITIKIN SVET, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, BORBA, DUGA, DANAS) reprinted the article and accompanied it with their "comment." This question was also posed by Zvonimir Hrabar during his speech at the LCY Conference.

"For the sake of objective and comprehensive information for the public, I now wish to present only the facts:

"In my native village of Baltici near Sokolac, where I lived until I went to work in Sarajevo, I possess only a family house, which was dilapidated and which I have therefore renovated on the basis of the decree on the renovation of a family house, No. 03-1-5-360-144 of 30 October 1980, issued by the respective communal administration organ. On the old foundations and walls of the house measuring 8 by 6 meters, including a loft, the roof construction was replaced, water was brought in, heating and bathrooms were installed, and an extension was built to accommodate a garage and a summer kitchen. The plot, and thus the house, is fenced in the

usual way, with a wooden fence. In Baltici, I now possess much less real property than I have inherited, because I have sold most of the land that I have inherited.

"Together with my sons, I built a vacation cottage in Neum. I paid the charges for the use and adaptation of the land and for the utilities on the basis of a decree by the respective communal organ in 1978 according to the regulations in force. I and my sons were building the house for almost 10 years. On the basis of the stances adopted by the Conference of the LC of Bosnia-Herzegovina, appropriate organs will establish the conditions applying to the construction of all the vacation cottages in Neum, and the public will be informed.

"I have possessed the right to use a 137-square-meter apartment in Sarajevo for 14 years. After my family had split, because my sons established their own families, I had the intention of exchanging this apartment for another, because my younger son and his family remained as subtenants. Although a contract was concluded on exchanging this large apartment for one and a half apartments totaling the same area, the contract was canceled on my initiative—because of the well-known criticism of the construction of the apartment house in Telebasina Street (the so-called "Villa Carrington")—in agreement with the apartment builders, so that the exchange never took place.

"My sons, with more than 10 years in employment, as graduate engineers of mechanical engineering and electrical engineering respectively, carry out their obligations, duties, and rights in the work organizations where they are employed. On this basis, and in accordance with the laws and self-managing acts, they have obtained the entitlement to apartments in their own work organizations.

"I do not wish on this occasion to deal in detail with the background, intent, and manner of such writing, but it is obvious from its content, style, and frequency that it is a matter of a special campaign and an attack on the moral integrity of myself and my family, and an attempt to discredit me politically."

Serbian Women Protest Albanian Nationalism
LD1106155088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—About 50 women from all parts of Serbia gathered this morning outside the Yugoslav Assembly building in order to register their protest with the SFRY Assembly and the Serb Assembly against, as they stressed, "the terror perpetrated on the Serb population in Kosovo." They brought with them a list of over 2,000 signatures of women from throughout the republic who demand that "at long last the genocide against the non-Albanian population" perpetrated by Albanian nationalists and separatists "be ended."

While waiting to be received in the Yugoslav Assembly, the women displayed the streamers with which they demanded "a single Constitution, a single judiciary, and a single authority for the whole of Serbia."

Prison Sentences Issued for Hostile Propaganda
AU0906151188 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Jun 88 p 10

[Text] Skopje, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Skopje District Court sentenced Dzemail Kerimi (32) to 3 years imprisonment, and Rizvan Dzafiri (35) to 2 years imprisonment for hostile propaganda offenses.

The court established that on 27 November last year, Kerimi and Dzafiri (both from the village of Zajas near Kicevo) attended a family party in Zajas held on the occasion of the national day of the People's Republic of Albania—28 November. On this occasion, in the presence of several guests, they glorified this holiday and made several critical remarks about the celebration of the SFRY's Republic Day, 29 November.

Kosovo Press 'Not Without Bias'
AU1306130488 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 88 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Writing on Kosovo is More Objective But Not Without Bias"]

[Text] Pristina, 3 June—Reporting from Kosovo is more objective and comprehensive, but is not without bias and sensationalism. Publications that report from this province, which is under complex conditions and circumstances, have contributed to and do contribute to overcoming the situation in Kosovo, it was said today at the joint session of the Republican Committee of the SR of Serbia and the Provincial Committees for Information of Vojvodina and Kosovo held in Pristina. The activities of the media in the realization of the Yugoslav program to stop the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and in the realization of the conclusions of the highest party organs to sort out the situation in the province, were discussed.

It was pointed out that the information media in the republic and province are in a difficult financial position, which is reflected in the quality of its work. There was the warning that the Kosovo publishing houses Jedinstvo and Tan do not have the resources to carry out their function normally, so their cadres are leaving them. In Kosovo some branch offices of Yugoslav newspapers are also in an unenviable position, because for many years they have been unable to solve the problem of accommodation. Most of the session was taken up with a discussion on whether Pristina JEDINSTVO needs a printing press or not. The RILINDJA representatives pointed out problems with their printing press, and several participants believed that the opening of a new printing section would lead to a doubling of the present capacity, which is otherwise not sufficiently used.

Loncar Pays Official Visit to Iran

Meets with Foreign Minister

*LD1406163588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1310 GMT 14 Jun 88*

[Text] Tehran, June 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, who arrived on a two-day working visit to Iran last night, today held talks with his host, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The two ministers discussed bilateral questions and current international developments and expressed readiness to promote relations between Yugoslavia and Iran in all domains—the political, economic, cultural and information—noting that favourable opportunities exist to achieve this, especially in the field of investments and industrial cooperation.

The Iranian and Yugoslav foreign ministers share the assessment that the profound changes in international relations, especially those taking place as a result of the dialogue between the two superpowers and blocs, call for common efforts aimed at updating and stepping up the activity of the movement of nonalignment.

They said the forthcoming nonaligned ministerial meeting in Cyprus in early September was especially important in this respect.

Loncar and Velayati also discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Iran-Iraq war.

Ends Visit to Iran

*LD1506200188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 15 Jun 88*

[Text] Tehran, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who was on a 2-day working visit to Iran, left Tehran this evening.

Today, the federal secretary met with Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i and Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi and had a second round of talks with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

During lengthy and friendly talks between President Khamene'i and Budimir Loncar, both sides emphasized great interest in developing bilateral relations and expressed their firm belief that possibilities for it exist.

The Iranian president and the head of the Yugoslav diplomatic service exchanged views about the Iran-Iraq war and the problems in the Gulf region, about Resolution no. 598 of the UN Security Council on the Iran-Iraq war, and about the Nonaligned Movement's attitude to the resolution.

During Loncar's meeting with Prime Minister Musavi of the Islamic Republic, it was said that the plans for advancing cooperation, especially in the economic

sphere and in the field of investment projects, should be more ambitious. The need was also stressed for maintaining dialogue at high and top level.

It was reiterated during today's second meeting between Loncar and Velayati that the federal foreign secretary's visit to Iran provided a significant impetus to efforts to advance relations between the two countries. The Yugoslav and Iranian foreign ministers exchanged views about the international economic situation, the position of developing countries in the debt crisis, and about current events in the world.

Loncar Speaks on European Cooperation

*AU1306171288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
6 Jun 88 p 6*

[B.Z. report on interview with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, by VECERNJI NOVOSTI and BORBA reporters: "To Increase Our Interest"]

[Text] More interest can be expected in the future from our republics and provinces in the Alps-Adriatic work community. Montenegro is on the Adriatic Coast, and it would be logical for Montenegro to show some interest. Of course, I cannot now speak on behalf of Montenegro, but the Yugoslav approach is for good cooperation with its neighbors in all forms. The first form was the Balkan conference; the second is the Mediterranean dialogue, which we are increasingly developing; and the third is this Alps-Adriatic organization. This means that as the federal government and federal officials responsible for the whole of Yugoslav foreign policy, we see the possibility for the inclusion of another of our republics.

This was the answer of Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to a question from VECERNJE NOVOSTI and BORBA reporters on whether in the future more interest can be expected from our republics and provinces in actively participating in this community, considering that Yugoslavia has until now increased the number of its members in Alps-Adriatic the least.

In response to the statement that neither the Adriatic Coast nor the Alps is in Hungary, Loncar pointed out that Hungary's inclusion should be seen in the context of a broader interest in links.

"The interests of our members in the Community have always also been the interests of Yugoslavia. We should cooperate on this Yugoslav option within regional frameworks. This gives each of our republics and provinces the opportunity to be included if they are interested or need this. This is in fact the logic of the whole of this organization, not only in our country but also in the countries of the other participants in the Alps-Adriatic work community," said Loncar.

"I would say that this is an exceptionally inventive and pragmatic form of cooperation, which in fact enriches European lines of communication. Moreover, it confirms the principle orientation toward cooperation in as close and as comprehensive a way as possible, with the aim of overcoming all possible divisions that came about in Europe after World War II. This especially favors our ideas and philosophy of activity as a nonaligned country that has from the beginning recommended that ways and roads must be found to reduce differences, obstacles, and divisions.

This is also the essence of the policy of nonalignment, and it arose to offer resistance to such polarizations and divisions and to formulate the real alternative of a move to a European union, as a type of European unity based on the recognition of differences in social systems, heritage, and cultural and other characteristics.

"In a word we have a common 'roof' and a common identity that will, however, presuppose, above all, the recognition of the right of each country to its own path of development; respect for each country's historical and other characteristics, and lead to as much equality as possible for all European countries," said Budimir Loncar in an interview for NOVOSTI and BORBA in Klagenfurt.

Orlandic Holds Talks With Poland's Rakowski
LD1006185888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today had talks with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, who is in Yugoslavia to launch his book, "Times of Hopes and Disillusionment," published by the Zagreb Printing Organization. In the course of talks, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, an exchange of views was conducted about issues concerning cooperation between the LCY and the PZPR, about current issues occupying the SFRY and the PPR, and about international topics, situations, and trends in workers' and other progressive movements.

Both sides highly assessed overall bilateral cooperation and relations between the LCY and the PZPR and stressed the importance of regular political dialogue for better understanding, confidence building, and further development of relations.

Orlandic informed his guest about the work and the outcome of the recently held LCY Conference and about the activities that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are taking in implementing the standpoints and messages of this gathering. He went on to stress that, by its course and results, the conference not only exceeded its statutory importance but also laid the foundations for the activity of the LCY and its leadership in the coming period. The conference strongly

reiterated the correct nature of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the commitments to reforming the economic and political system with the aim of facilitating the consistent realization of the system of socialist self-management. Orlandic placed particular stress on the unanimous commitment to democratization and renewal within the LCY in order to reaffirm and enhance its leading ideopolitical role in society, in other words, to transform the LC from a party in power to a democratic vanguard.

Rakowski voiced his views on the most topical trends in the PPR. He spoke in greater detail about the coming session of the PZPR Central Committee convened to consider further directions of the economic reforms and democratization of the political life in Poland. These efforts will be concentrated on the need for full promotion of the human factor as the principal factor in society's progressive development.

The two sides informed each other about the efforts made by their respective countries to implement programs of economic stabilization.

In the course of the talks, reference was also made to the LCY's and the PZPR's international activity, and the situation and trends in workers' and other progressive movements in the world. In this context, both sides stressed the importance of the course of radical reforms under way in a number of socialist countries aimed at further developing socialism as a world process. The two sides expressed their firm belief in their successful prospects.

During his brief visit to Belgrade, Rakowski was also received by Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Serbian Church Delegation To Visit Moscow
AU1306130588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Jun 88 p 8

[D.A. report: "Delegation of Serbian Orthodox Church To Leave for Moscow Today"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, Pimen, a delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church will today leave for Moscow where it will attend the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Russian Christianity.

Because of health reasons, Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Mister German, will not be in the delegation that will attend the ceremony in Danilov Monastery on 12 June. The Holy Synod of Archpriests decided that the following clerics will represent the Serbian Orthodox Church: Bishop Sava of Sumadija, Bishop Hristifor of East America, Bishop Sava of Vranje, and Archpriest Deacon Milovan Gogic.

The Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church also decided that the recently elected Vicar Bishop Patriarch German Sava and Bishop Hrizostom of West America be ordained in the Belgrade Orthodox Church on 3 July and 10 July this year respectively.

Mikulic To Visit Turkey 'End of June'
*LD1006152288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 10 Jun 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic will pay an official visit to the Republic of Turkey at the end of June at the invitation of Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal. This was announced by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade today.

India's Gandhi To Pay Official Visit in July
*LD0906153988 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1214 GMT 9 Jun 88*

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will officially visit Yugoslavia in the course of July at the invitation of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat announced today in Belgrade.

It was stressed that during the visit a comprehensive exchange of views is expected on promoting long-standing cooperation between the two countries and the current international situation. It was also indicated that non-aligned countries activities and the movement of non-alignment's role in current international trends will be particularly discussed.